DECODING THE CORONATION

From the Crown Jewels to the Stone of Destiny

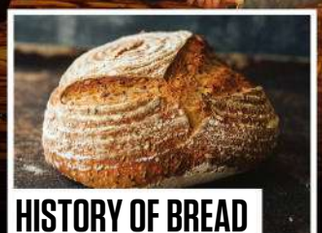
ANNIE OAKLEY

Why "Little Sure Shot" wowed America

ALL ABOUT HISTORY

CHARLES II's CURSED REIGN

How the Great Fire and killer plague tormented the return of the Stuarts



HISTORY OF BREAD

The simple food that fuelled civilisations

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Uncover the master of the Chinese sages

THE FIRST INCA

Real history behind this near-mythical ruler

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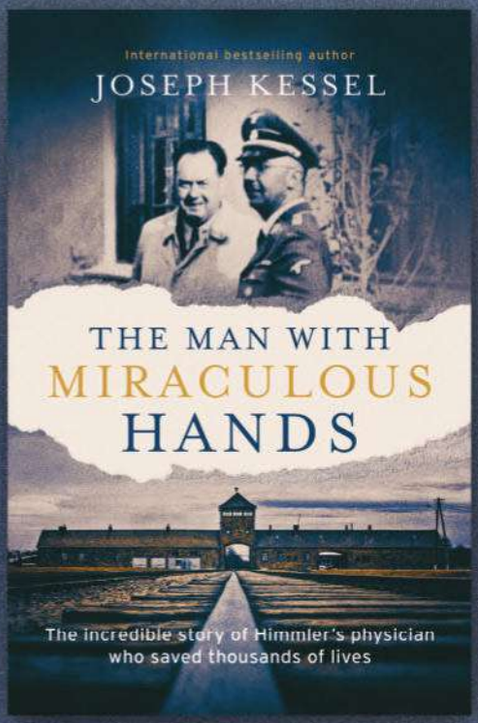
Discover how Cuba became a Mafia resort

FUTURE

ISSUE 129

Elliott & Thompson

STORIES OF ORDINARY PEOPLE LIVING THROUGH EXTRAORDINARY TIMES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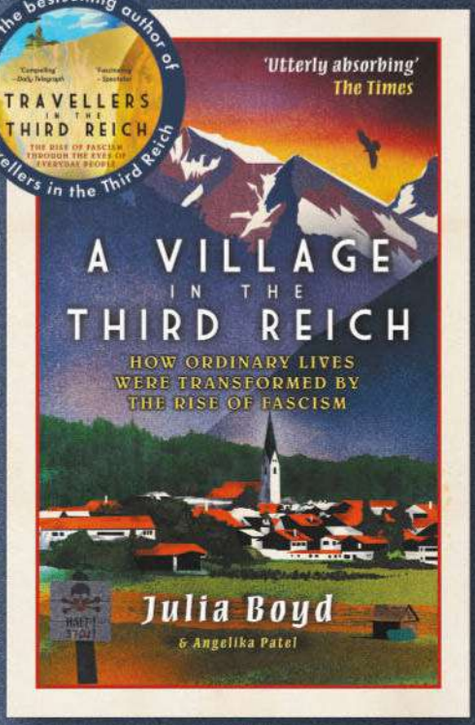
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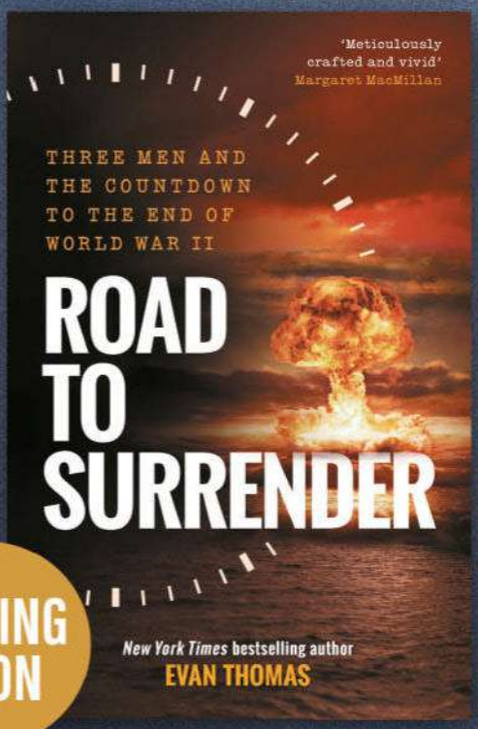
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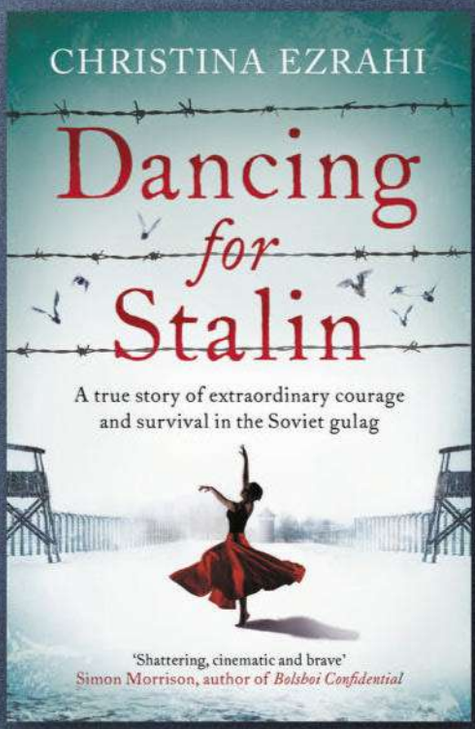
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SCAN TO GET OUR WEEKLY NEWSLETTER

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A procession between the Tower of London and Westminster on the eve of Charles II's coronation in 1661

Welcome

At the time of writing, we're inching our way closer to the coronation of Charles III here in the UK. I imagine a few of you, dear readers, were fortunate enough to witness our last coronation on TV. However, for most of you, like myself, this is our first experience of such an event. The monarchy doesn't mean or represent the same things in the modern world as it once did, but any moment of change is also a time for reflection. As such I thought it would be interesting to look at the last time a Charles was on the throne of England and... oh dear. Plagues, fires in the capital and disastrous wars overseas. He got dealt a rough hand, to say the least. Fingers crossed for better luck this time around.

To guide us through the Charles II reign and the misfortunes he had to handle we welcome back Derek Wilson. The Stuarts had a lot more power and control than the Windsors do today, so how did Charles tackle the troubles he faced, not to mention rebuild the monarchy after Oliver Cromwell? We find out in our lead feature this issue. Plus, we decode the coronation and its historic rites, take you on a trip to a gangster's paradise in Cuba, uncover the life of Annie Oakley and learn all about the history of bread. Plenty to get your teeth into, in other words. I hope you enjoy the issue.

Jonathan Gordon
Editor

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How the Great Fire and killer plague tormented the return of the Stuarts

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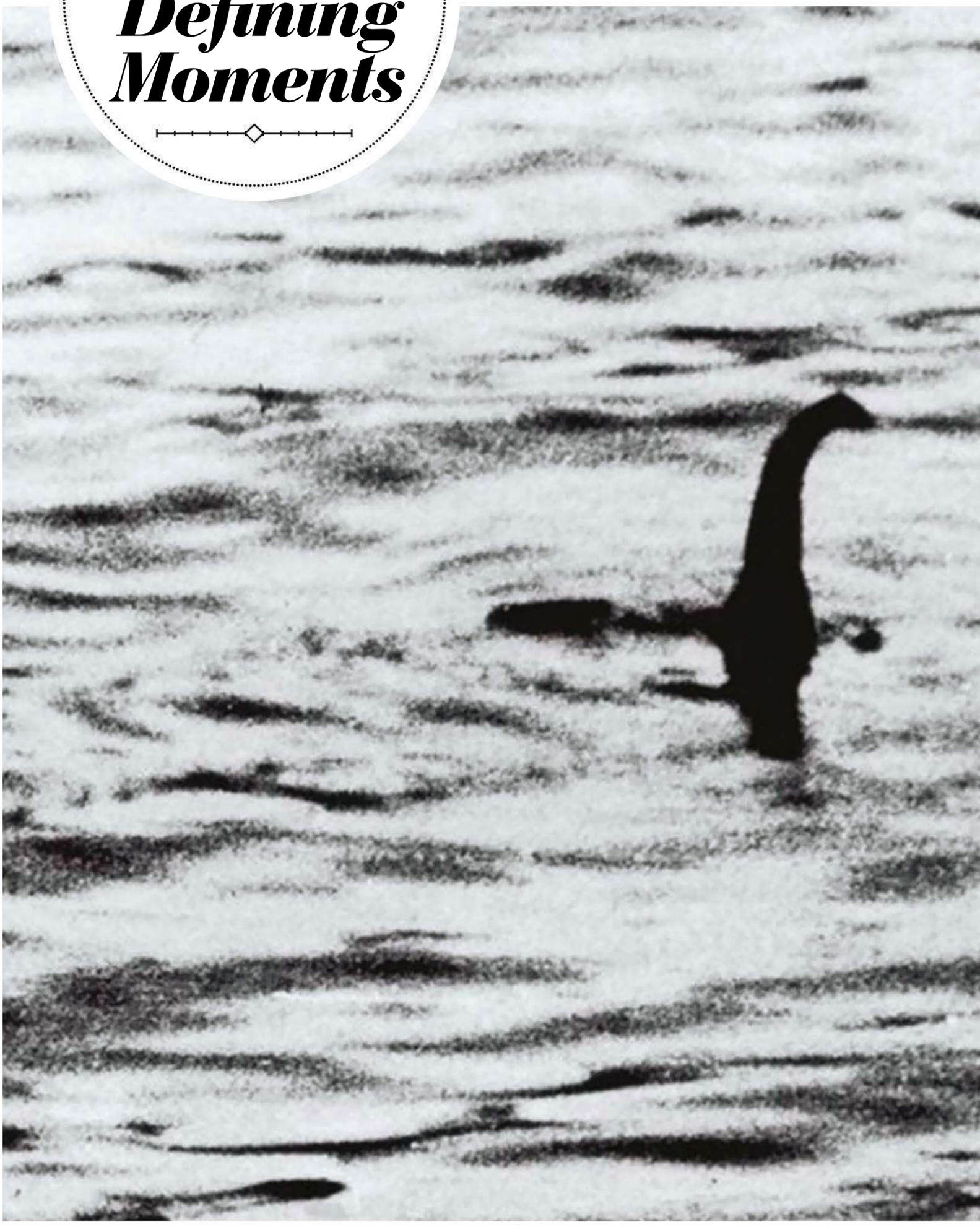

© Alamy

21 April 1934

LOCH NESS MONSTER 'SIGHTING'

The ancient legend of the Loch Ness Monster has fascinated people for centuries, with supposed sightings having been reported throughout history. In 1934 the first photograph of the Monster was allegedly taken by Robert Kenneth Wilson, a doctor from England. To a clamour of international attention, the photograph was published by the *Daily Mail* newspaper and seemingly provided evidence that the mythical beast actually existed. However, the photo was eventually debunked as a hoax 60 years later, in 1994.

21 April 1986

AL CAPONE'S VAULT OPENED

American journalist Geraldo Rivera hosted a live TV special during which the vault of gangster Al Capone (1899 – 1947), found in his old headquarters in Chicago, was opened for the first time. With a huge build up and millions of viewers holding their breath in anticipation about the treasures that may be discovered, the vault was blown open. But nothing was found inside, much to everyone's disappointment. This image shows one of the excavation crew standing in front of the empty vault.

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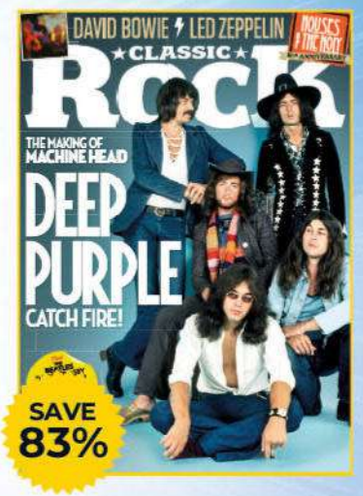

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ALL ABOUT BREAD

From ancient Egypt to your high-street bakery, we explore the history of the food upon which civilisations were built

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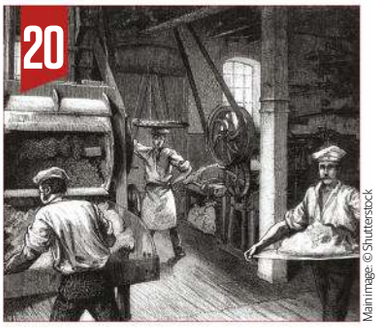
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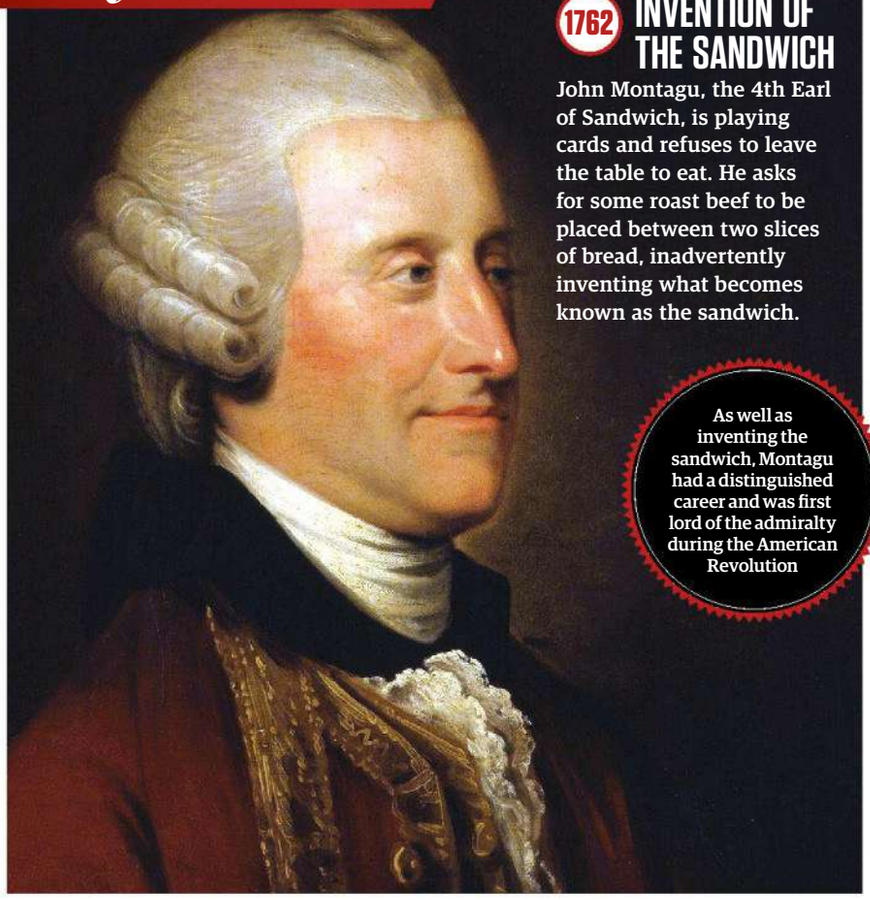
BREAD AND THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION

Mainimage: © Shutterstock

Written by Callum McKelvie, Emily Staniforth

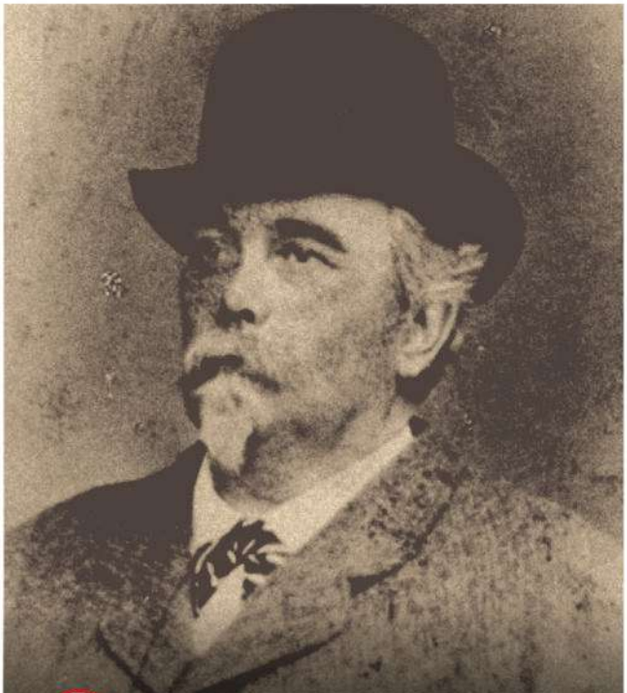
Key Events



1762 INVENTION OF THE SANDWICH

John Montagu, the 4th Earl of Sandwich, is playing cards and refuses to leave the table to eat. He asks for some roast beef to be placed between two slices of bread, inadvertently inventing what becomes known as the sandwich.

As well as inventing the sandwich, Montagu had a distinguished career and was first lord of the admiralty during the American Revolution



1837 THE INVENTION OF THE BAGUETTE

The signature bread of France has numerous origins, with many claiming it was invented by Austrian baker August Zang. The bread becomes common in the 1920s due to a new law that states bakers can't begin work before 4am, so the baguette's shorter baking time makes it a popular choice.

EARLIEST BREAD 12000 BCE

In 2018 scientists discover the earliest known evidence of bread, in the Black Desert in Jordan, as well as evidence of bread-making facilities.

WATERMILL INVENTED 450 BCE

The watermill is invented in Ancient Greece. Over successive centuries it will become an integral part of milling and by extension the bread-making process.

THE GREAT FIRE OF LONDON 1666

Said to have begun in Thomas Farriner's Pudding Lane bakery, the Great Fire destroys 86 percent of the City of London – and many bakeries with it.

4TH CENTURY BCE · 1569 · 1762 · 1837

INVENTION OF FOCACCIA C.1000 BCE

An Italian favourite, this flatbread is thought to have been invented by the Etruscans, though similar recipes can be found in many cultures.

ORIGINS OF THE EUCHARIST C.30-36 CE

During the Last Supper, Jesus is said to share bread with his disciples, stating it's his body. Through the Eucharist, also known as the Holy Communion, Christians continue this sacrament.

SELF-RAISING FLOUR INVENTED 1845

Baker Henry Jones invents self-raising flour and is quickly able to secure a patent. He then spends years convincing the Royal Navy to use his product to ensure sailors receive more nutritious bread.

4TH CENTURY BCE ANCIENT EGYPTIAN BREAD

Bread is an important part of the diet of Ancient Egyptians. Bread-making is closely related to beer-making as both products use the same ingredients. Both beer and bread are consumed daily.

image source: wiki/Met Museum

1569 WORSHIPFUL COMPANY OF BAKERS FOUNDED

Tracing its origins to the 12th century, the Worshipful Company of Bakers is one of the oldest livery companies in London and is founded when Elizabeth I unites the brown bread-bakers and white bread-bakers guilds. For over 500 years it has operated at the site of its current offices, located near the Tower of London.

All images: © Alamy, © Getty Images

English muffins didn't start being imported to the United Kingdom until the 1990s

1874 ENGLISH MUFFIN INVENTED

Although invented by an Englishman, the 'English' muffin is actually created in New York. Samuel Bath Thomas creates this now-famous breakfast treat while working in a bakery. He sells them to the city's hotels, who provide them as an alternative to toast.

FLEISCHMANN'S YEAST 1868

America's first commercially produced yeast is invented by the Fleischmann brothers. The subsequent yeast cake revolutionises home baking in the United States.

PARKER HOUSE ROLLS C.1870

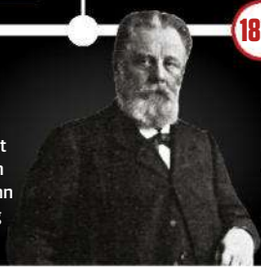
This favourite American roll is purportedly created when an angry baker throws a tray of unfinished rolls into the oven. The unfinished shape causes them to be hard on the outside and soft inside.

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF MASTER BAKERS FORMED 1887

The National Association of Master Bakers is formed in Britain and continues to this day. Now known as the Craft Bakers Association, it works with the government and provides support for its members.

AERATED BREAD COMPANY 1869

The Aerated Bread Company runs the most popular chain of tea rooms of the Victorian era and early 20th century. Its founder John Dauglish creates a new method for making bread using carbon dioxide gas.



1874 1928 1965

INVENTION OF THE ROLLER MILL 1874

Inventor and engineer András Mechwart creates the roller mill, patenting a porcelain roller device by Friedrich Wegmann and improving its design. These mills soon become widely used in the flour industry.

REAL BREAD CAMPAIGN 2008

The Real Bread Campaign is launched in Britain. It aims to increase the public's accessibility to bread made without chemical raising agents or other additives.

1928 INVENTION OF SLICED BREAD

After a prototype that he constructed in 1912 is destroyed in a fire, Otto Frederick Rohwedder builds a new slicing and wrapping machine that is put into use in a bakery in 1928. By 1930 his invention has caught on and spread across the United States.

1965 THE CHORLEYWOOD BREAD PROCESS COMES INTO USE

First developed in 1961, this remains the method by which the majority of supermarket loaves in Britain are produced. It produces dough quickly without bulk fermentation. Critics of the method says it uses larger amounts of salt and yeast than traditional bread recipes.

MEDIEVAL BAKERY

Europe
11th–15th century

Since ancient times, bread has been a vital staple of diets for people all over the world. Medieval Europe was no different. Both the rich and the poor relied on bread as an integral part of their nutrition and bakeries were a crucial aspect of people being able to access it. In towns and cities, bakeries existed not only as a business for the bakers themselves to make and sell their product to the local population, but also as communal spaces where locals could bake the dough they had made at home.

Bakers operated as part of a guild system throughout most of Europe in the Middle Ages, which regulated the prices and weight of bread that could be sold. The master bakers had to serve their community, as well as sometimes royalty or the local nobility while also ensuring they could provide for their own families. The guilds looked after the interests of the bakers and their employees, but were sometimes made to sell their produce at low prices in times of hardship in order to feed the lower classes. These harsh conditions meant that bakers were often overworked and underpaid, especially since bread had to be freshly baked as there were not many ways to preserve it. Bakers sometimes also worked as millers, meaning they had a monopoly on the bread-making process as they were responsible for grinding grain as well as baking.

Though bread was eaten by people at all levels of society, not all bread was available to all people. Bakers relied on the type of grain that was local to them to determine what kinds of bread they made. However, unleavened bread was popular for much of the Middle Ages as yeast was not widely available until around the 14th century.

COMMUNAL BAKERY

Bakeries were not only used by bakers to cook bread to sell. In the Middle Ages, bakeries were often communal. People would bring their own dough and use the bakery's large oven to cook it. Symbols and insignia might have been carved or stamped into the dough to identify which bread belonged to whom.

GRINDING STONE

The grain used to make bread would have to be ground before being used in dough. Peasants would take their own grain, which they acquired by growing it, buying it or being paid with it, to a local mill to have it ground. Sometimes mills were attached to bakeries, but if they were not, the grain would be taken to a separate bakery.

A VARIETY OF BREAD

The most popular bread made in the Middle Ages was a dense unleavened bread that could be baked without using yeast. Unleavened bread was sometimes used as a plate for meat and fish dishes, which would then be eaten at the end of the meal. Along with unleavened bread, yeast (usually from beer) was also used in making rye breads, normally eaten by the poor, and later white breads, which would be eaten by the wealthy.

BAKERS' GUILDS

The activities of bakers were commonly regulated by guilds during the Middle Ages. In London, a baker's guild was in existence from 1155. The function of the guilds was to oversee the price and weight of bread, setting limits on both to ensure that the bakers' businesses were protected. They also made sure that everyone could afford bread as it was such an essential part of everyone's diet regardless of their social status.

PUDDING LANE

The isolation of a medieval bakery was proven to be a smart innovation when, after the Middle Ages, a bakery was at the heart of a great disaster. In 1666, the Great Fire of London began in Thomas Farriner's bakery on Pudding Lane. Farriner was the King's baker and the fire, which originated from a spark from his oven, spread rapidly through the tightly packed area surrounding the bakery. Over 13,000 houses were destroyed.

OVEN

The large and deep ovens that were the main feature of a medieval bakery were usually made out of a material that would retain the heat from the fire like brick, stone or clay. It was important that interior ovens had a chimney that would allow the smoke from the fire within to escape from the building.

BLACK-BOTTOMED BREAD

Fire was used to heat the ovens in a medieval bakery. Once the oven was hot enough, the fire would be put out and the bread would be pushed inside to bake. However, ash left over from the fire would sit on the floor of the oven, meaning the bottom of the bread was often blackened. The rich would cut the bottom of the bread off to give to their staff to eat.

LONG-HANDLED PADDLE

As the ovens were so wide and deep, bakers would use long-handed paddles to get the bread in and out of the furnace. These paddles were called 'peels' and were fairly universal. They had been used since ancient times and continue to be used by bakers today. In the Middle Ages, the paddles were usually made from wood.

BAKER'S MOULDS

In baking a variety of breads, cakes and biscuits, bakers used different moulds to create the different shapes and patterns they needed. These moulds were used when baker's made specific breads for religious occasions such as festivals and other important dates like saints' days.

ISOLATION

European bakeries in the Middle Ages were often housed in a separate building that was situated away from the main towns and cities. The ovens heated the buildings to such an extent that they were a fire risk, which is why it was commonplace for people to not have ovens in their own homes.

Illustration by Adrian Mann

Anatomy

REGENCY BREAD SELLER

England
c.1795 – 1830

A BAKER'S MAN

Bread sellers were men who either worked for the master baker of the area or themselves, and would travel around selling bread as a street vendor to the local population. A similar system existed for the sale of milk, though it was usually women who would be employed as milk vendors.

STALE BREAD

In the early 1800s the price of wheat increased, meaning bread became more expensive. Bread sellers would buy bakers' stale bread to sell to their hard-up customers, as they could both buy it for a cheaper price and sell it to poor families at a lower rate.

BROWN GEORGE

In Georgian England the ingredients in bread had been regulated to such an extent that when bakers were allowed to use other ingredients, like barley and oats, people protested that they were trying to sell them inferior brown bread because they were poor. Even when George III ate brown bread, he was heckled by people calling him Brown George.

DUSTY CLOTHING

Bread sellers would wear trousers and a coat made from cloth, along with a hat of some kind. Their clothes would often look as if they were dusty as they were regularly exposed to flour and grain that would leave marks on their clothing.

CHALK

Regency bread vendors would sometimes carry chalk with them while they were out collecting the money they were owed. They would use the chalk to write a tally on the house of the customer, wiping off the tallies when they paid in part for the bread they had purchased from the seller.

DODGY DEALINGS

Bakers' men had a reputation for dishonesty as it was not uncommon for them to defraud their customers out of money. Allegedly, some bread vendors would pocket the money paid by the customer and tell the baker that they had never received it. The customer would then have to pay again for their order.

UNEMPLOYMENT

Of the men who sold bread as street vendors, many of them had worked in the bakeries as a journeyman baker under the employment of the master baker. However, due to being unable to find employment they bought bread from bakeries to sell in the streets for their own profit.

Illustration by Kevin McGivern

Historical Treasures

BYZANTINE BREAD STAMP

Bread used during the Divine Liturgy was stamped with the phrase 'Jesus Christ victorious'

Byzantine Empire, 500-900

This relatively small and unassuming object is a bread stamp that comes from the Byzantine Empire. This particular ceramic stamp would have been used to mark bread for use in religious ceremonies. Bread stamps have been used for a variety of purposes throughout the centuries, from preventing theft and fraud to marking the bread for religious ceremonies.

According to the Loulis Museum in Athens, which has the largest collection, there were two forms of religious bread stamps in the Byzantine Empire. The first would be for bread used on feasts dedicated to Christ and various other important saints and were known as eulogia stamps. The second, of which the item shown here is an example, were known as Eucharist stamps and were for bread destined to be used during the Eucharist, the Holy Communion. Orthodox Christianity revolves around the Eucharist and it is the commemoration of Jesus's death and resurrection.

Christianity was the core religion of the Byzantine Empire, with Emperor Constantine considered to be the first Christian emperor and stopping the persecutions that members of the faith had previously been subjected to. Orthodox Christianity remains one of the major religions in the world.

The origin of the Eucharist is biblical in nature. During the Last Supper Christ was supposed to have taken bread and told his disciples to eat it as it was his body. In Christianity, bread represents the body of Christ and wine the blood. In the Byzantine Empire, the Eucharist was known as the 'Divine Liturgy'. The Byzantine Empire played a key role in developing Christian Orthodoxy as we now understand it.

The stamp shown here was gifted to the Metropolitan Museum in New York City by the estate of Lawrence J Majewski upon his death in 1999. Majewski was an art conservation expert who in 1972 had declared a series of bronze horses owned by the Metropolitan Museum to be genuine, overruling an earlier claim that they were fakes. The stamp can currently be seen on display in the Metropolitan Museum in the exhibition Medieval Art and the Cloisters.

PROSPHORA

Orthodox Christianity still uses bread stamps to mark the bread before the Divine Liturgy. The small loaves of bread that are stamped are known as Prosphora. Some of these stamps bear Greek letters which state "Jesus Christ Conquers".

'FIRING'

This Byzantine bread stamp was made by the traditional process of 'firing' the ceramic. This is the process of gradually heating the object until all the water is removed. The temperature needed to turn clay into ceramic has to be exceptionally high.

WHY BREAD STAMPS?

Historically bread stamps have been used for a number of reasons. In ancient Rome they were used to identify the baker before it went into a communal oven. This practice could also stop a baker selling underweight loaves, for example.

'JESUS CHRIST VICTORIOUS'

This stamp would have been pressed into the bread dough before it was baked. Once the bread was cooked, the words, "Jesus Christ victorious" would be clearly visible on top of the bread.

© Metropolitan Museum

Hall of Fame

CHAMPIONS OF BREAD

Ten brilliant bakers from the history of bread-making and invention

Lionel Poilâne

French, 1945 – 2002

Poilâne's signature product is a round sourdough bread known as a pain Poilâne

The inheritor of the Poilâne bakery from his father, it was Lionel who saw it become a world famous bread-making empire. He began as an apprentice at aged 14 and although originally despondent, soon became inspired to see the beauty in bread-making. Purportedly, Poilâne once even used his skills as a baker to bake a set of furniture constructed out of bread for the renowned surrealist artist Salvador Dali. Poilâne understood the importance of both tradition and modernity, opening a machine breadworks in 1983 but never forgetting the traditional methods. He died in a helicopter crash at the age of 57.

THOMAS AND ELLEN / HENRY AND RACHEL WARBURTON

BRITISH

The British bread empire of Warburtons began when Thomas and Ellen Warburton hit upon the bright idea of baking their own bread when their grocery shop was failing to make ends meet. After the first batch of four loaves sold out almost instantly, the shop quickly refocused its attention and became a bakers. In 20 years the business slowly grew and Henry Warburton was asked to help run it. Henry saw Warburtons expand, buying extra premises and delivery vehicles. According to *British Baker*, one of the shops was run by his wife Rachel while also bringing up their children.

JOSEPH LEE

AMERICAN, 1849 – 1908

Born into slavery, Joseph Lee was innovative in the world of bread-making. Creating both a bread-kneading and bread crumb-making machine, he was largely self-taught. He was assigned the patents to his devices, despite it being incredibly difficult for a Black person to obtain a patent during this period. When he sold his inventions, he was made a stockholder and became very wealthy. Lee's restaurants were held in high regard, and he ran the successful Woodlands Park Hotel.

NANCY SILVERTON
AMERICAN, 1954 – PRESENT

The world-famous chef is credited with popularising artisanal bread in the restaurants of the United States. In 1989 she opened La Brea Bakery adjoining the La Campanile restaurant in Los Angeles. Despite not initially being a total success due to the local population being unfamiliar with the kind of artisanal breads that Nancy was selling, a year later it had caught on, with lines stretching down the block.

Apollonia Poilâne
French-American, 1984 – present

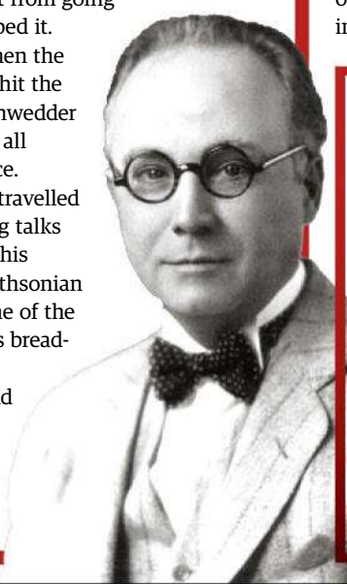
The daughter of Lionel Poilâne, Apollonia Poilâne has seen her father's business grow into a mighty bread empire. When her father was killed in a helicopter crash, Poilâne took over the family business aged only 18. While running the company, she completed a degree in economics at Harvard University, carrying out her duties as CEO from her dorm room. As of 2018, the company was seeing a yearly profit of €12 million.

ELIZABETH RAFFALD
BRITISH, 1733-81

The crumpet is a form of small griddle bread and a favourite British breakfast food. The origins of crumpets are mysterious and prior to the 18th century crumpets were different to the type we consume today. However, in 1769 Elizabeth Raffald became the first to set down the now-recognised recipes in her book *The Experienced English Housekeeper*. This book, a collection of recipes, purportedly became a personal favourite of Queen Victoria and was reprinted 13 times. More than just the creator of the crumpet, Raffald was an entrepreneur who ran inns and opened a confectionary shop.

Otto Frederick Rohwedder
American, 1880 – 1960

Otto Frederick Rohwedder is the man credited with the creation of sliced bread. In 1928, he sold his first bread-slicing machine, an idea that he had been working on since 1912. Not only did his machine slice the loaf, but in order to prevent it from going stale it also wrapped it. Unfortunately, when the Great Depression hit the United States, Rohwedder was forced to sell all rights to his device. However, he still travelled the country giving talks on the genesis of his creation. The Smithsonian Museum owns one of the first models of his bread-slicing device. Today, sliced bread has overtaken unsliced bread as the most popular form.



Charles Joughin
British-American, 1878 – 1956

Although it may seem slightly tangential to the history of bread, the story of this master baker is worth highlighting, for he was one of the few survivors of the Titanic. Joughin signed on to the ship as chief baker and was one of the best-paid crew members aboard. When the ship began sinking he sent his staff to distribute 50 loaves of bread among the lifeboats. Joughin spent some time drinking in his cabin, and when he returned to the deck he did not get in his designated lifeboat, instead assisting women and children. Joughin went back below deck for a few more drinks and when the ship began to list, he swam until he found a lifeboat.

It is believed that the vast amount of alcohol Joughin consumed (two bottles of whisky according to some accounts) may have been what saved him.

ANGELO MOTTA
ITALIAN, 1890 – 1957

Panettone is a form of Milanese sweet yeast-bread, often eaten around Christmas time. Angelo Motta is credited with transforming panettone from a small local dish into a Christmas favourite. He oversaw the industrialised production of the product and introduced the distinctive dome shape which is now associated with the bread. He hired renowned artists to create top quality advertisements and slashed prices, ensuring that panettone would catch on.

HENRY JONES
BRITISH, 1812-91

Prior to 1845, bakers had a problem. Any baked bread used yeast, which meant bread did not survive long – a problem if it was to be taken on an extended journey. Then baker Henry Jones invented self-raising flour and was instantly able to secure a patent for his product. Jones' self-raising flour would later be used by the armed forces, offering better food to British troops.

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Q&A

BREAD: FEEDING THE WORKERS OF THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION

Eric Pallant on the technological advances that changed how bread was made and how we think about it

What was the state of bread-making prior to the Industrial Revolution of the 18th and 19th centuries?

For 1,000 years before the Industrial Revolution, making bread was done in the home. You would make your dough and then you'd take it to a communal oven for baking. There wasn't enough wealth for people to afford their own oven or even have enough wood to fuel it. So everybody brought their dough to a communal oven and bought their flour from a single miller who worked for the lord of the manor. He could then control the price of grain and what the baker could charge for the service of baking your bread. So there was always some displeasure among working class people about what they had to pay for these services.

Describing himself as a "serious amateur baker", Eric Pallant is an award-winning professor of Environmental Science and Sustainability at Allegheny College, Pennsylvania. He is the author of a number of books on bread, its history and its role in culture and society.

Then, over time, the whole process of making bread began to change. It followed the slow development of urbanisation and of skilled labour, with the first baking guilds being founded. Now you had a 'baking class' who were responsible for making bread that was going to be sold in the marketplace. But bread was a staple part of the diet of working class people in Western Europe. It's what you needed to survive but the price was controlled by the elites.

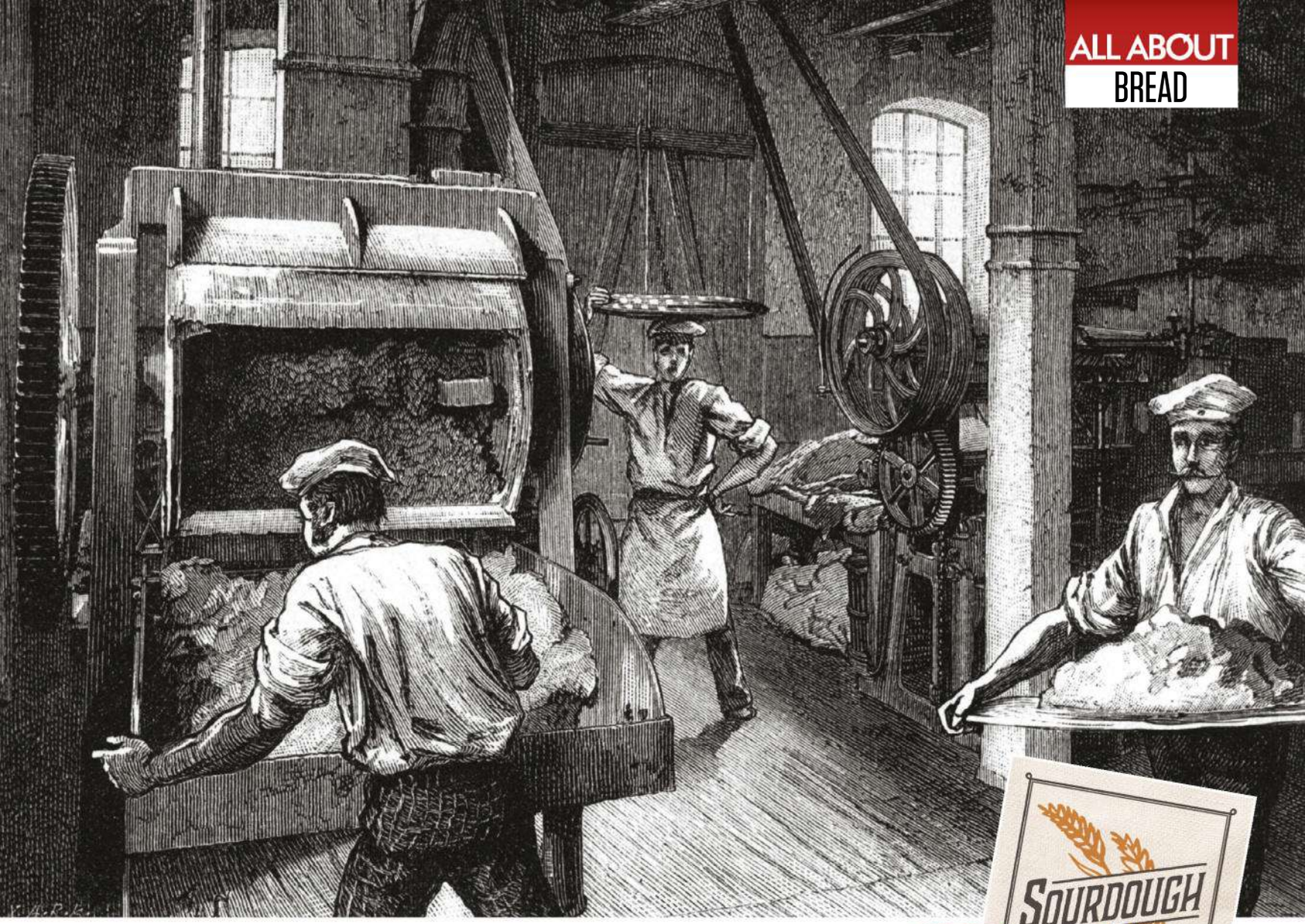
One other thing is that the leavening agent commonly used prior to the Industrial Revolution was sourdough cultures, meaning a mixture of a wild yeast and bacteria. Compared to what was going to be discovered when Louis Pasteur realised what yeast actually is, and others then figured out how to isolate it, these sourdough cultures take a long time to rise. This wild yeast also gives the bread a sour taste and not everybody likes that flavour. The Industrial Revolution changed both the means by which we consume bread and the way we make it.

How did the impact of the Industrial Revolution change the way we think about bread?

Everything changed with the Industrial Revolution. You had figures such as Richard Arkwright figuring out how to make textiles using machines. Textiles are very analogous to bread in history in that before the Industrial Revolution, to make an article of clothing you had to spin the thread by hand. Similarly, to make bread

Photo courtesy of: Veronica Burke

LEFT
Densely populated industrial areas required large quantities of quickly made bread to sustain the thousands of men and women toiling in the factories



you actually had to use your hands to make a single loaf one by one. The Industrial Revolution changed all that. It meant that now textiles were made by machines and they could make thousands of threads at any one time. After several decades of this, people started to think: 'What else can a machine do?' Especially once it was discovered that coal could power an engine in such a way that factories could be set up where they didn't require water as a power source.

Ultimately people began to ask: 'If we can make clothing with machines can we also make food with them?' With the Industrial Revolution you had huge textile mills that employed hundreds, then thousands, of workers who worked exceedingly long hours and weren't treated as well as they should've been. Then larger and larger villages were built, which eventually became small cities of workers who were working from dawn until dusk, and also at night, because machines don't sleep. But to keep the people alive, you obviously had to feed them. That's where bread changed because we now had to produce a lot of bread in one area in a very quick period of time. The Industrial Revolution caused people to think: 'How much profit can we make by making a product as quickly as possible?' The same was going to be true with bread.

How did Louis Pasteur's ground-breaking discovery of fermentation change bread production?

By the late 1800s, scientists were looking at the question of fermentation. In 1857 Pasteur confirmed that yeast is a living organism, a microscopic cell. After this discovery, you could then grow them in huge quantities. You could then make bread rise faster than anybody had ever made bread rise before. Why does that matter? Because for the previous 5,000 years it had taken two days to make bread. Suddenly, by isolating these yeast cells and hyper-powering the dough with them, you could make bread in six to eight hours. The elites during the Industrial Revolution recognised that they could make a lot of bread very, very quickly and charge just a small upcharge per loaf to feed a lot of workers and make a lot of profit. But what fell by the wayside, in my opinion, was the flavour and the taste. Once you start making bread this way it doesn't have much flavour but nobody cared because you were working a 12-hour shift at the machine. You came home and you wanted that loaf of bread and a hunk of cheese and some ale, all of which are products of fermentation. Then you were probably going to fall asleep and do it again tomorrow. So we lost quality in the name of profit and that's a business model that has continued to this day. The same is true with any of those fast food places. The impact of the Industrial Revolution changed everything about how we eat and why we eat. The culture of our eating together is no longer a family thing, instead it's 'let's feed the workers to feed the machines'.

SOURDOUGH CULTURE: A HISTORY OF BREAD MAKING FROM ANCIENT TO MODERN BAKERS
IS OUT NOW FROM AGATE SURREY

TOP
A 19th century illustration of the industrial bread-making process

All images © Alamy, © Getty Images

Places to Explore

HISTORIC BAKERIES

A breathtaking bevy of breadmaking premises from across the globe

© Getty Images

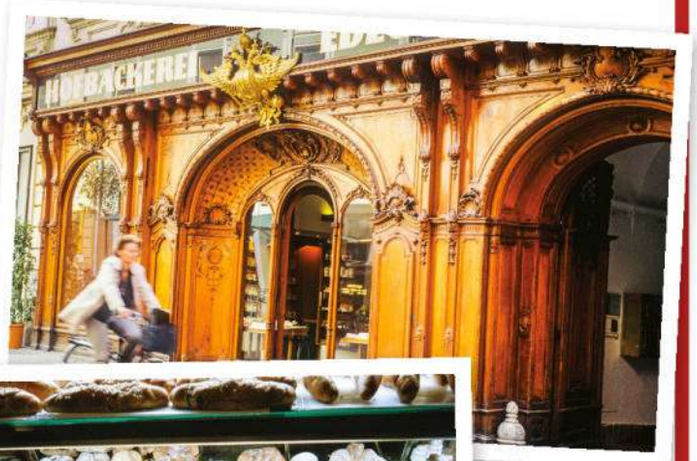
1 HOFBACKEREI EDEGGER-TAX

HOFGASSE, GRAZ, AUSTRIA

The luxurious Hofbäckerei Edegger-Tax is one of Europe's oldest bakeries. In fact, although a sign on the building's lavish exterior suggests it first began operations in 1569, author Sarah Guy in *Europe's Best Bakeries* states that it may have actually been founded an additional 200 years before. In 1880 it moved to its current location and in 1896 the carpenter Anton Irschik created Edegger-Tax's famously ornate wooden exterior. The bakery gained the symbol of the Royal Eagle over the door in 1888, after receiving a title of the Imperial and Royal Warrant of Appointment. In 1886, they had supplied the royal court with a selection of their pastries and so impressed were they with the quality, that Royal approval was granted a mere two years later.

Following the end of World War II, the business expanded and added a cafe so that patrons could enjoy the delicious treats in the comfort of the Edegger-Tax's luxurious surroundings. Now the bakery has moved with the times, catering for modern sensibilities, such as providing gluten-free options. As well as bread, Edegger-Tax also offers a number of classic Austrian sweet pastries including the famous Panthertatzen, a small pastry with a nut filling, and various other delicacies. Members of the Edegger family still run and maintain the business.

Open 7am to 6pm Monday to Friday. 7am to 12pm Saturday



2 PÂTISSERIE STOHRER

PARIS, FRANCE

Founded in 1730 in Paris, Pâtisserie Stohrer was the brainchild of King Louis XV's chief pastry chef, Nicolas Stohrer. Legendary in his craft, Stohrer is credited as the inventor of the Rum Baba. In setting up his bakery, Stohrer was visionary in combining a number of different professions (for example chocolatier or bread making) in one shop. Now, nearly 300 years later the bakery is still renowned for its high quality and scrumptious pastries. Although arguably it is the Pâtisserie's sweet treats that garner the most attention, like any good bakery it sells a wide selection of freshly baked loaves, rolls and baguettes.

This luxurious pastry shop is located on the popular rue Montorgueil, a street lined with fashionable eateries and quaint cafes, creating an atmosphere of affluence that suits the classy Pâtisserie Stohrer well. Inside, the little patisserie has luxurious marble decor with exquisite paintings purportedly designed by a student of the famous architect Paul Baudry, who was famous for designing the renowned Opera Garnier.

Open 8am to 8.30pm Monday to Saturday. 8am to 8pm Sunday

Thought to be Japan's oldest bakery, the Ginza Kimuraya attracts visitors from across the world

3 GINZA KIMURAYA
TOKYO, JAPAN

Established by Kimura Yasubei, a former samurai, in 1869, this is thought to have been Tokyo's first Western-style bakery. After a chance meeting with a baker working in a Dutch household, according to the Ginza Kimuraya site, Kimura discovered recipes for Western-style bread. As yeast was not yet commonplace in Japan, yeast-mash was used after an experiment with hops resulted in a bread too tough and solid. Kimuraya invented anpan, a bun stuffed with sweet-bean paste which delighted the emperor upon his trying it.

Although the modern Kimuraya is not the same building founded all those centuries ago, it does appear to have been built on the same spot. Visitors to the modern Kimuraya can still purchase the famous anpan pastries as well as a variety of other tasty sweets and treats. The smell of freshly baked bread is said to greet any visitors into the bakery and is sure to tempt any tourist's taste buds.

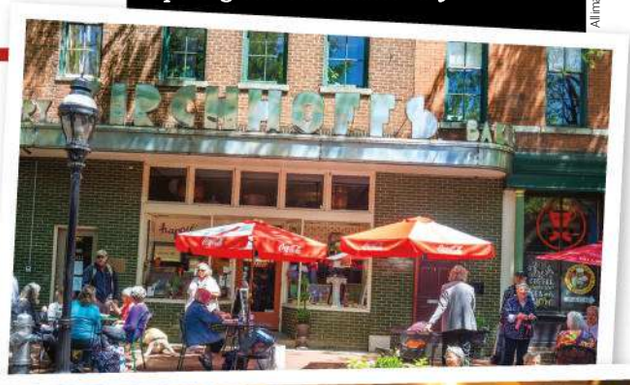
Open 10am to 8pm, Monday to Sunday

5 KIRCHHOFF'S BAKERY
KENTUCKY, UNITED STATES

Kirchhoff's is one of the oldest bakeries in the United States and is located in Paducah, Kentucky. Paducah has become known as the 'quilt capital of the USA' due to its long history with the art form of quilting. Franz Kirchhoff was a Prussian immigrant who opened his bakery in 1873. Kirchhoff often sold his products to river boat customers, baking his goods in a traditional wood-fired oven. Over the decades, although Kirchhoff's has modernised, it retains an old-world charm and sensibility.

These days, Kirchhoff's is still operated by members of the same family and remains renowned for its freshly baked artisan breads. However, alongside these visitors can also purchase sandwiches, pastries and other treats. The bakery also operates a deli, selling cheeses, meats and fresh vegetables. Kirchhoff's prepares fresh daily soups that are a favourite with their customers. However, as in the past, it is for its bread which Kirchhoff's remains known.

Opening hours and dates vary



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4 DUNNS BAKERY
LONDON, UNITED KINGDOM

Dunns Bakery, located in Crouch End, is something of a London institution. The building has housed different bakeries for some 150 years but was acquired by the Freeman family and transformed into Dunns in 1946. Robert Freeman first started the family business in 1827 and successive family members opened small bakeries everywhere from Enfield to New Zealand. However, it is Dunns Bakery in Crouch End that has outlasted them all, becoming a popular haunt for Londoners and developing a reputation for creating delicious products of the highest quality. According to the Dunns official website, their bakery uses 'ancient bread ovens'. The bread is baked every morning, providing Dunns' customers with delicious fresh products all week.

In the upper part of the building, they also operate a sandwich shop, perfect for those looking for a bite to eat for breakfast or lunch. Also located here is the cake decorating service providing high-quality cakes for weddings and other celebrations. Recently Dunns bakery acquired even more fame when they supplied the majority of the baked goods for the series *Call The Midwife*. As with other bakeries they have moved with the times and offer a succulent vegan alternative to their famous sausage roll.

Open 7am to 6pm Monday to Friday. Weekend hours differ.

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CHARLES II's CURSED REIGN

How the Great Fire and killer plague tormented the return of the Stuarts

Written by Derek Wilson

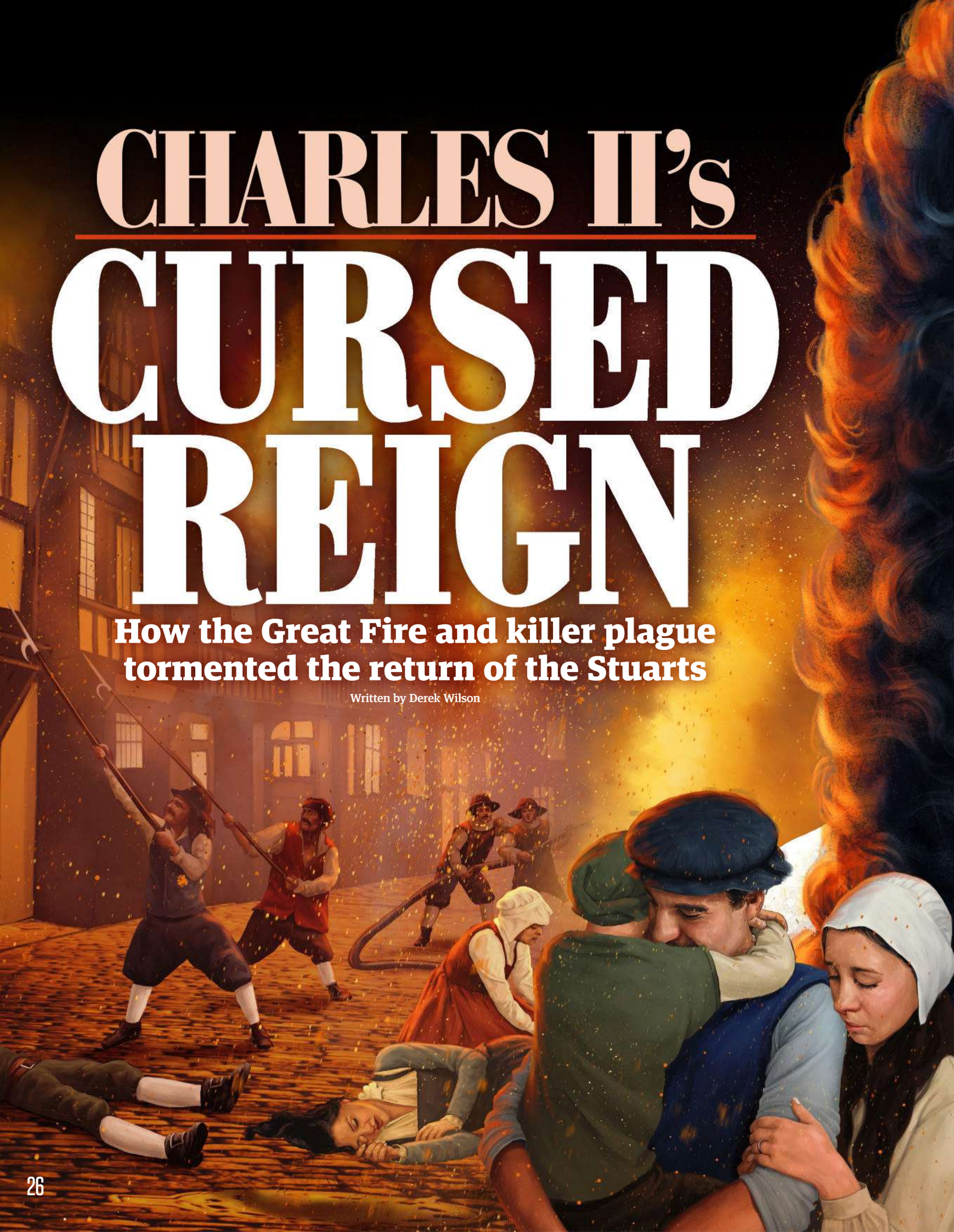


Illustration by Kevin McGivern

After 338 years, another Charles is on the throne in England, so what better time to reflect on the reign of Charles II? The man who returned from exile in May 1660 to assume the reins of power after the failure of a republican coup was four days short of his 30th birthday when he landed at Dover. Up to that point his life had been a succession of - to say the least - unfortunate experiences.

The second son of Charles I, he unexpectedly became heir to the throne at the age of 12, after the death of his elder brother. As the reality of his inheritance began to dawn upon him, he became aware that it was likely to be a very troubled birthright. Later that same year the series of conflicts known as the English Civil War broke out. Parliament,

> "The prince and his siblings were moved from refuge to refuge for their safety"

determined to reduce the power of the monarch, took up arms against the king. Hostilities raged back and forth across much of the country and involved horrendous loss of life.

In his mid-teens, the prince and his siblings were moved from refuge to refuge for their safety. But this was not the only cause of the young man's insecurity. He was torn between his father's determination that his heir should remain under the tutelage of the king's council and his French mother's wish to whisk him across the Channel for his safety. Eventually Queen Henrietta Maria prevailed.

In June 1646 the royal children sailed for France. There Charles lived in a kind of never-never land, enjoying the charitable hospitality of the infant Louis XIV's government but unable to make any plans for his own future. In February 1649 he received the appalling news that Charles I had been put on trial by his subjects, found guilty of treason against the people and publicly beheaded.

A SON'S REVENGE?

We scan contemporary records in vain for any convincing personal evidence of Charles' reaction to this news. There was conventional shock-horror response from Royalist pens, but young Charles was, apparently, not moved by profound grief or desire to avenge his father's death. There were even favourites in the prince's intimate circle whose party tricks included scornful mimicry of the martyred monarch. The heir had not always seen eye-to-eye with his father and now he had no need to support policies he had come to question. All that mattered was survival for himself and his family. Charles began to display the pragmatism and emotional distance that would be defining characteristics of his reign.

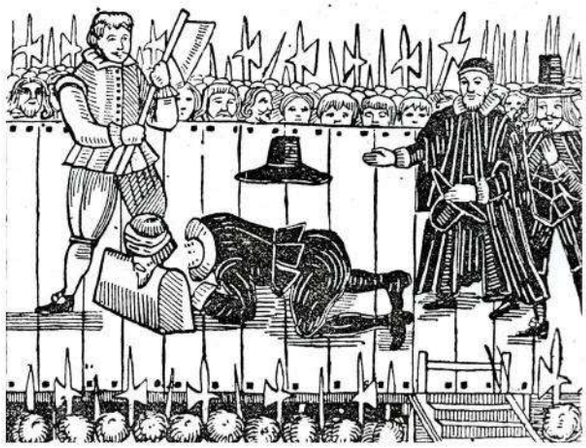
For the next few years Charles and his travelling entourage divided their time between the courts of their Stuart relatives, the young French monarch and the stadtholder (governor) of the United Netherlands Provinces. Charles' sister, Mary, had married William II, the Dutch ruler, who subsequently died of smallpox, leaving the succession to their infant son, William III. Thus both major continental powers were ruled by minors. Both courts had their own problems and were little inclined to be involved in political or military affairs over the water.

Agreeable though the life of a non-paying guest was, there was no future in it. Charles maintained contact with Royalist supporters and awaited a suitable opportunity to set out on what he always afterwards called his "great adventure". In fact, in later life he became something of a bore on the subject of his military campaign of 1650-51. In reality the initiative came from the Crown's staunch supporters in Scotland and England and was certainly no heroic success. The Scottish faction that invited him over was but one among several on both sides of the border divided by political, religious and nationalist objectives. It was no match for the efficient military regime of Oliver Cromwell, who won a brilliant victory at Dunbar on 3 September 1650. Charles fled across the border and, after several months of wandering in impoverished incognito, he was smuggled aboard a merchant ship at Shoreham-by-Sea and returned to France, his tail firmly between his legs.

RESTORATION

When Charles returned in 1660, now as king, most of his subjects were as relieved to see him as he was to be going home. The Puritan rule of Oliver Cromwell and his straightlaced followers had proved even more unpopular than the autocratic regime of Charles I. Theatres and other places of entertainment had been closed. Church worship had become sombre and colourless. Popular festivals had disappeared from the calendar. Even Christmas had been cancelled. The omens for a successful reunion of Crown and people were favourable, but there was a price to be paid. The Restoration was on parliament's terms and the king had to accept sharing power with the houses of Lords and Commons. The 30-year-old monarch who set foot once again on English soil would have been happy to live with that, but political tensions soon appeared.

Having spent half his life as a wandering exile, Charles had one personal priority. As he said on more than one occasion: "I am resolved never to go on my travels

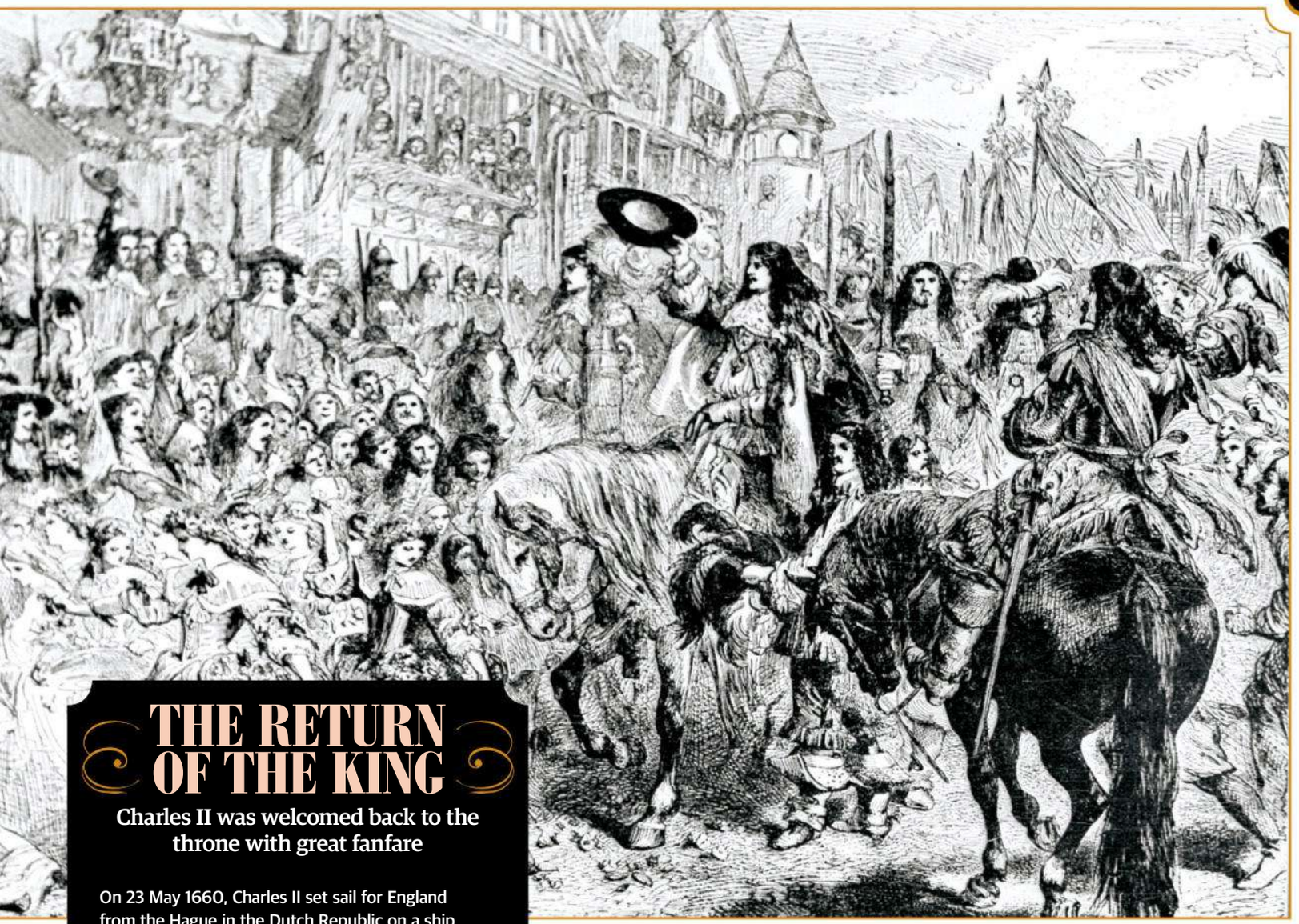


LEFT A young Prince Charles as a child, before his father was overthrown

TOP A depiction of Charles I saying goodbye before his execution

ABOVE The public execution of Charles I made his son king... but not for long

BELOW Oliver Cromwell's victories against Royalists, such as at the Battle of Dunbar in 1650, forced Charles II to go on the run



THE RETURN OF THE KING

Charles II was welcomed back to the throne with great fanfare

On 23 May 1660, Charles II set sail for England from the Hague in the Dutch Republic on a ship that had been sent over by the English Parliament – a symbolic gesture that had seemed unthinkable just a few years before. On the shores of Dover two days later, there were cheering crowds as he landed. He made his way to Blackheath, near Greenwich, on 29 May – his 30th birthday – and 100,000 men were waiting to greet him.

Later, in his opening address to the House of Lords, he said: "I am so disordered by my journey, and with the noise still sounding in my ears (which I confess was pleasing to me, because it expressed the affections of my People) as I am unfit, at the present, to such a reply as I desire; yet thus much I shall say unto you. That I take no greater satisfaction to my self in this my change, than that I find my heart really set to enamour by all means for the restoring of this Nation to their freedom and happiness; and I hope, by the advice of my parliament, to effect it."

In the evening he hosted a banquet at the Banqueting House in the now-lost Palace of Whitehall, where his father had been executed 11 years previously. To an outsider, it must almost have seemed as if nothing had changed in that time.

again." His apprenticeship as a survivor had made him a master of the arts of equivocation, deceit and manipulation. His sojourns as a visitor in foreign courts had given him a taste for the high life, which earned him the nickname of the Merry Monarch. Though this was an exaggeration, no previous British ruler outdid Charles in exuding charm and exercising the 'common touch'. He would need all the bonhomie he could muster, for fate had unpleasant surprises in store for him.

Charles' reign was situated over two trembling fault lines. One was religion. Charles, a Roman Catholic convert, was the head of a Protestant national church. What made his situation more difficult was that his brother and heir, James, Duke of York, was an ardent Roman Catholic who made no secret of his convictions. Charles could not but be personally involved in the religious conflict, but he maintained a divide between personal belief and his kingly role. He tried to persuade James to adopt the same

"Young Charles was not moved by profound grief or desire to avenge his father's death"

attitude. For example, he appointed him to be lord admiral, and James saw action in several naval engagements.

The other problem was foreign policy. The major European conflict of the late 17th century was between Louis XIV of France and William III of the United Netherlands – Charles' cousin and nephew respectively. The two continental powers were locked in territorial rivalry for control of the southern Netherlands (formerly belonging to Spain) between their respective borders. Both nations were also commercial and maritime rivals, eager to control the sea routes to Asia and the

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New World. England, too, had a major stake in international trade. All three nations wanted access to (and preferably control of) the narrow seaway between the Continent and the British Isles. This entailed continuing the Anglo-Dutch Wars (begun in the Cromwellian era).

CRISES ABROAD

As the leading maritime powers in Europe, England and the Netherlands were in competition for control of the 'Narrows' (North Sea and English Channel). In 1651 England enacted a Navigation Act, restricting traffic through its territorial waters. This provoked the First Anglo-Dutch War (1652-54). Despite heavy losses, little changed, and hostilities broke out again. In the Second Anglo-Dutch War (1665-67) France joined in on the Dutch side (for commercial reasons). Despite a devastating raid on Chatham dockyard, this, too, proved inconclusive.

In 1666 the French and the Dutch buried the hatchet in the hope of cashing in on England's catastrophic problems

> "Charles II's reign was situated over two trembling fault lines"

(plague and the Great Fire of London). Throughout most of his reign, Charles could not avoid being involved in conflict with one or other of the neighbouring nations. Between 1665 and 1674 these wars proved incredibly expensive in both lives and money. In the Third Anglo-Dutch War (1672-74) France, now waging a land war with the Netherlands, sided with England. Yet further heavy losses in ships and men still produced no 'winners'.

But war was not the only disaster of these years. Other crises not of the king's making brought even worse terrors. London was devastated, in short succession, by a plague pandemic and a four-day fire that laid waste to most of Charles' capital city. Citizens trapped in the smouldering capital were faced, nine months later, with the threat of invasion when Dutch troops attacked Chatham dockyard. Charles' subjects, not unnaturally, looked to their monarch for leadership in dealing with these emergencies. And, also not unnaturally, public opinion was divided. At the first sign of plague the king and his entourage

LEFT Charles II famously hid in a tree during his desperate escape to exile

fled the capital, moving first to Salisbury then to Oxford. They could scarcely do otherwise; the government had to continue. But not all the terrified and angry Londoners took such an objective view of the royal 'desertion'.

THE PLAGUE

The terrifying visitation of bubonic plague that struck London in 1664-65 resulted in fatalities that had not been seen on such a scale since the Black Death 300 years earlier. No accurate statistics are available. Estimates put the death toll at anywhere between 15-20 percent of the city's population. Although occasional outbreaks had occurred in the intervening years, plague – common on the Continent – was a rare visitor to Britain, thanks largely to the English Channel. In all likelihood the disease arrived from the Netherlands in bales of cloth.

The government and the municipal authorities were quick to respond. Infected premises were boarded up, householders were ordered to be diligent in washing the streets and many ale houses were closed. As infection spread, everyone who could tried to flee the city. The council responded by closing the gates in order to prevent the spread of infection. No-one was allowed out without a permit signed personally by the lord mayor stating that they were free of the plague. As the months passed warmer weather aided the spread of the pandemic. Those trapped inside the city, even if they were free from contagion, began to suffer from lack of food. No-one would risk coming into London with fresh supplies.

The authorities responded by establishing 'stations' outside the walls where food and payment could be left without the need for human contact. By the middle of 1665, plague pits were being dug to dispose of the bodies. Within weeks even this arrangement could not keep pace with the death rate; corpses were being stacked up in the streets for lack of people to dig the mass graves. The weekly count of victims reached 2,000 by September and would've increased had not the plague given way to another disaster – the Great Fire of London.

TOP While in exile, Charles II was protected and hosted at the extravagant court of the Sun King, Louis XIV of France

ABOVE Cromwell was named Lord Protector in 1653, but died in 1658, opening up a path for Charles II's return

RIGHT This cartoon from 1850 mocks the Merry Monarch's lascivious reputation

LOOMING SHADOWS

The background troubles of Charles II's reign

CATHOLIC CONSPIRACY

Ever since the Protestant Reformation in England, Roman Catholicism and Catholics in general had been treated with mistrust and often outright violence. Fears of a Catholic conspiracy to overrun the country had been rife ever since the 1588 Spanish Armada, and even into the 17th century they were still very much real.

RESTORATION DEBAUCHERY

Charles II's court was widely known for its drunkenness and bawdy behaviour, encouraged by the king himself. This made him the subject of much mockery from his friends, and outright hostile criticism from among the more conservative people in the country. Though the puritanical interregnum period was over, there were still many who saw the king's conduct as disgraceful.

CRISIS OF SUCCESSION

When he failed to produce a legitimate heir by his wife, Catharine of Braganza, there was a crisis over the succession of the crown upon Charles' death. His brother James was next in line, but his Catholic faith made this prospect unthinkable. An Exclusion Bill was even raised by parliament in an attempt to exclude James from the succession.

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THE GREAT FIRE

In the small hours of Sunday 2 September 1666, an overheated baker's oven caused a fire to break out in Pudding Lane, close to the centre of the city. Fanned by a strong easterly wind, it spread rapidly through London's narrow streets of timber-framed buildings and the waterfront warehouses. One eyewitness, the diarist Samuel Pepys, estimated that by mid-morning 300 buildings had been consumed and observed that flames were already creeping across London Bridge.

Citizens, most of whom had been forced by the anti-plague regulations to remain in the city, now rushed to leave by land or river. The king ordered the lord mayor to pull down buildings in the path of the conflagration to hinder its progress. (It cannot have escaped his attention that there was little to prevent the fire reaching the palace complex at Whitehall.)

With well-organised precautions the devastation might have been reduced but panic and confusion slowed down the fire-fighting. Wealthy citizens were more interested in escape and burying their belongings and merchandise, or hiring carts at vastly inflated charges. They even rushed to the banks to get their money out.

KING IN A CRISIS

Charles did not remain aloof to the sufferings of his people. When the fire raged, he and his brother personally joined the lines of people passing buckets of water up from the river. They organised the establishment of temporary markets to provide citizens with food, and oversaw the blocking of waterways to prevent Dutch invaders penetrating the city. Just as he had relished military campaigning, so Charles enjoyed responding to these crises. But he was, by nature, reactive rather than proactive. In the crises of 1665-66 he ordered London's gates to be closed to prevent the spread of disease. When the fire produced a flood of fugitives, he ordered town corporations to provide for these refugees. It was not only Puritans who mistrusted the restored monarchy. Many subjects, open-eared to the latest

TOP-LEFT After the chaos of the post-Cromwell government, Charles II's return appears to have been greeted with some relief

LEFT Only a few years into his reign, the Great Plague swept through London

BELOW The calamity of the plague was followed by the Great Fire of London in 1666

> "Charles and the City Corporation were at loggerheads, neither trusting the other to act in the common interest"

court scandals, were asking themselves whether the Cromwellian years had really been all that bad. A contemporary writer observed: "Charles Stuart is not incompetent; he is lazy." But dealing with the varied crises that beset these few years would have taxed the wisdom of Solomon.

SECRET DEALS

After the fall of the Lord Chancellor Earl of Clarendon in 1667, government became something of a competition between parliament and court favourites. The politicians tried to keep the king on a tight financial rein, but this only drove him to clandestine measures to support his numerous mistresses and other pleasures.

The most notorious was the Secret Treaty of Dover with Louis XIV (1670). In return for a private annual subsidy of £230,000, Charles pledged himself to provide troops for the invasion of the Netherlands and the return of his own kingdom to papal allegiance. To enforce the latter, Louis agreed to make French soldiers available. Charles never intended to stick rigidly to his side of the bargain. He deliberately procrastinated over implementing the treaty's religious clauses, fobbing off the French ambassador with the excuse: "I have to humour my people and my parliament. They have made great efforts to help me, and I am bound... not to do anything that might give them cause for complaint."

But it was the court, rather than the country, to which Charles was more in thrall. After the fall of Clarendon his rival, George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham, became, in effect, first minister. This charming rake was seldom very distant from scandal, and he spent more than one sojourn in the Tower of London. It was inevitable that the king would be much influenced by those he chose to have around him, sharing the pleasures, privileges and perks of the court. Most of his life had been spent in the rarefied atmosphere of royal households, engaged in dancing, feasting, intrigue and tittle-

TOP The plague had spread to the suburbs by the time of the fire in the city, so it's unlikely one catastrophe impacted the other

ABOVE Over 100,000 people are believed to have died from the plague in London – about 15 percent of the capital's population

All images © Getty Images

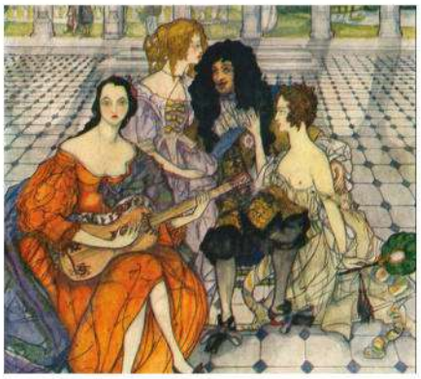
tattle. Perhaps it should not surprise us that Charles was not the most objective and perceptive student of human character.

CHARLES' MISTRESSES

And then there were the women. Charles II has gone down in history – not without cause – as the most notorious womaniser who ever occupied the English throne (yes, even worse than Henry VIII). Courtesans, noblewomen, actresses, servant girls, other men's wives – they all spent longer or shorter stays in the royal bedchamber.

Lust was not the sole reason for this obsession. Charles enjoyed – often even preferred – female company. In an age that differentiated against women Charles was genuinely interested in them and sympathetic to their needs. His court was no longer strictly divided into male and female quarters. He advanced his mistress's careers – for example, establishing a mere orange-seller, Nell Gwynn, as a popular actress and buying her a house close to the palace.

Charles surrounded himself with wits, scholars, philosophers, playboys and actors – but always there were beautiful young women to hand. It is tempting (and may not be wrong) to see his attitude as a response to his own misfortunes. He knew what it was to be the victim of fate; to play life's game with loaded dice. Nothing is more indicative of his open-heartedness than his relationship with his wife, Catherine of Braganza, even if the marriage was politically contentious. At the beginning of his reign, the union was arranged for reasons of state – Catherine was a Portuguese princess. Like Henrietta Maria, the new queen was a fervent Roman Catholic, something that did not endear her to the British political elite. That would not have mattered if she had succeeded in her principal raison d'etre, the bearing of an heir to the throne, but she suffered a series of miscarriages. Though she had to tolerate the presence of mistresses, Charles never allowed her to be treated discourteously. He never contemplated divorce in order to secure an heir and when rumour suggested that a legitimate heir existed – the son of his first love, Lucy Walter – he firmly repudiated it.



"The king surrounded himself with wits, scholars, philosophers, playboys and actors"

So was the third Stuart king the victim of hammer blows by cruel fate or was he, to some extent, to blame for his own troubles? He was the son of an autocratic father in a land that would no longer accept the 'divine right' of kings. He was tied by politics and kindred to international relations that pulled in different directions. The nation he was called on to govern was torn by irreconcilable religious dogmas.

In the midst of all this, Charles wanted to be, needed to be, his own man. But first he had to discover who that man was. There's no doubt he would've loved to have begun his reign as the general who had overthrown Cromwell. That was not to be. He could only go on being what his travels had made him – a survivor. Given that he reigned for 25 years, died in his bed in February 1685 and passed his crown to his brother James, he must by some measures be considered a success despite his misfortunes.

TOP Charles II depicted with a number of his mistresses, with whom he had several illegitimate children

LEFT Catherine and Charles were unsuccessful in producing an heir, but remained together throughout his 25-year reign

PROGRESS OF THE FIRE

The Great Fire of London in 1666 began in a bakery and the flames quickly spread to destroy most of central London

Map by Rocio Espin

1. Sunday 2 September

The fire began in a baker's oven in Pudding (or Rother) Lane just north of the bridge. Driven by a stiff easterly wind it fanned out, reaching the waterfront on one side and up towards Lombard Street, Poultry and Cheapside on the other.

2. Monday 3 September

By dawn on 3 September, the blaze was continuing eastwards but had also backed up along Cornhill, Fenchurch Street and Tower Street. Within hours it had reached the precincts of St Paul's Cathedral.

3. Tuesday 4 September

By 4 September, the fire had passed beyond the western wall and was moving along Fleet Street, where the lawyers' district, the Inns of Court, lay. Beyond Charing Cross, it turned towards Whitehall and was only stopped by prompt action ordered by the king. North of Fleet Street the fire, moving up Fetter Lane, was stopped before it could reach Holborn. The fire's north-westward progress was finally halted at Smithfield.

4. Wednesday 5 September

On 5 September fresh blazes flared up in the Temple and around Cripplegate, and caused particular alarm when flames were seen near the Tower of London. The only part of the city to escape the blaze was most of the area lying between Cornhill and the northern wall. It was through Cripplegate, Moorgate and Bishopsgate that the fleeing citizens hurried to reach the open ground towards Highgate, but even there they were covered by a pall of black smoke.

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Decoding the Coronation

Historic rites, rituals and conventions explained

Written by Jonathan Gordon

In 1066, William I (the Conqeuror) was the first English monarch to be crowned at Westminster Abbey. 957 years later, Charles III is the 40th monarch to hold their coronation in the iconic Central London church – and not much about the ceremony will have changed. From the days of the Norman Conquest to now, the way in which England and then Great Britain has chosen to celebrate its new monarchs has remained largely the same. The rites and rituals have long histories, many dating back long before 1066, and so do many of the objects and artefacts that play key symbolic roles in the ceremony. It's not all just pomp and pageantry, as we're about to reveal.

Image source: wiki/Royal Collection (UK) ID: 2153177

Coronation FAQ

The key questions answered

Why is there a coronation?
Going back to at least 1066, the coronation of the English/British monarch has been an initiation right; a symbolic ceremony where the new monarch is invested with the symbols of rule to mark their taking on of these new responsibilities.

Isn't a monarch automatically king/queen?
Yes. As soon as a monarch dies, their heir becomes the new monarch. The ceremony does not mark the beginning of their reign. Historically it was about making that succession official before God and the people.

Why the long wait for the coronation?
This is mainly a question of respect for the deceased and wanting the coronation to be a moment of celebration, not of mourning.

Why is it a religious ceremony?
We just mentioned God and that religious aspect has remained important since 1066. A monarch's right to rule derives from their being 'chosen by God' so they must make promises to God about they reign. They must also make them to the people, which is why it's a largely public event.

Where do coronations take place?
Since 1066 they have taken place at Westminster Abbey, but before then they were performed in a number of different places, such as Kingston-upon-Thames, Bath and Winchester.

When was the first coronation?
Details of ceremonies before 1066 are unclear. We believe Alfred the Great was crowned around 871. We do know that the kings of Wessex and early English kings were mostly crowned in Kingston-upon-Thames in Surrey on the Kings' Stone. A ceremony was developed from one used by the Franks in 973.

Who performs the coronation?
The archbishop, as far back as we have records, has always been the one to lead the coronation ceremony and place the crown on the new monarch's head.

What happens to the Crown Jewels?
The crowns used in the coronation ceremony and the regalia will all be returned to the Tower of London, where they have been safely kept since the 1600s.

Who attends the coronation?
As an event of national and global significance, leading political figures, international heads of state and other prominent citizens are all invited. Friends and family of the monarch are also invited. This is ultimately up to the royal family in consultation with the government of the day.

How long is the coronation ceremony?
They can vary in length, but Elizabeth II's coronation had three hours allotted to it for broadcast on television. We understand that Charles III's coronation will be shorter. Mary I's coronation was five hours long.

The Crowns

For the coronation of Charles III, St Edward's Crown is being used. This is considered to be the official coronation crown and was the one used by Elizabeth II and George VI in the two previous coronations. Queen Consort Camilla will also be crowned during the ceremony using Queen Mary's Crown, which has been used to crown queen consorts since it was made in 1911.

St Edward's Crown was originally made in 1661 for the coronation of Charles II after he was restored to the throne. It was a replacement for the original crown, thought to belong to Edward the Confessor (1042-66). That crown was melted down in 1649 during the English Civil Wars. The new crown is named after Edward the Confessor, who was canonised by Pope Alexander III in 1161. It is thought to be inspired by the original with regard to its arches and fleur-de-lis around the headband. It is made of solid gold inset with amethysts, garnet, rubies, sapphires, topazes and tourmalines. The cap is made of velvet and the band of ermine. It was constructed by the Royal Goldsmith, Robert Vyner.

Queen Mary's crown is much more modern by comparison, having been made in 1911 for the coronation of Queen Mary alongside her husband, George V. It is made of silver, lined with gold and features 2,200 diamonds. Among them, originally, were the Cullinan III and IV (cut from the Cullinan diamond, the largest ever found) and the Koh-i-Noor. The later will be replaced by the Cullinan V, another of the nine stones known as the Stars of Africa, for Camilla's coronation. The arches on this crown can also be removed so that it can be worn as a circlet.

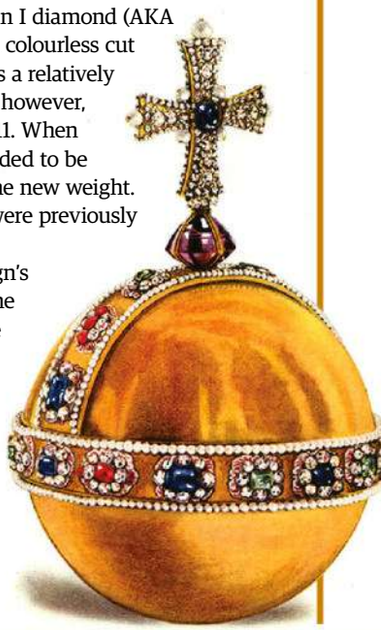
The first dual coronation of king and queen consort was for Henry II and Eleanor of Aquitaine in 1154

The Regalia

Having been anointed and clothed in their coronation robes, a new monarch is handed a series of artefacts from the Crown Jewels, known as the investing. Each of these items carries its own history and symbolic meaning. It begins with the crown itself, but then moves onto other objects, many of which also date back to Charles II coronation in 1661.

The Sovereign's Sceptre is one such item, representing the monarch's earthly authority, and has been used in every coronation ceremony since the Restoration. The head of the sceptre holds the Cullinan I diamond (AKA the Star of Africa), the largest colourless cut diamond in the world. This is a relatively new addition to the sceptre, however, having been mounted in 1911. When it was added the sceptre needed to be reinforced in order to carry the new weight. A rose, thistle and shamrock were previously added in 1820.

This is followed by the Sovereign's Orb, also representing authority. The ball, called a monde, implies the earth and atop it sits a cross for Christianity. The orb weighs 1.32kg with emeralds, diamonds, pearls, rubies and sapphires set into the band around the globe, which creates three segments, representing the three continents known at the time it was made in 1661.



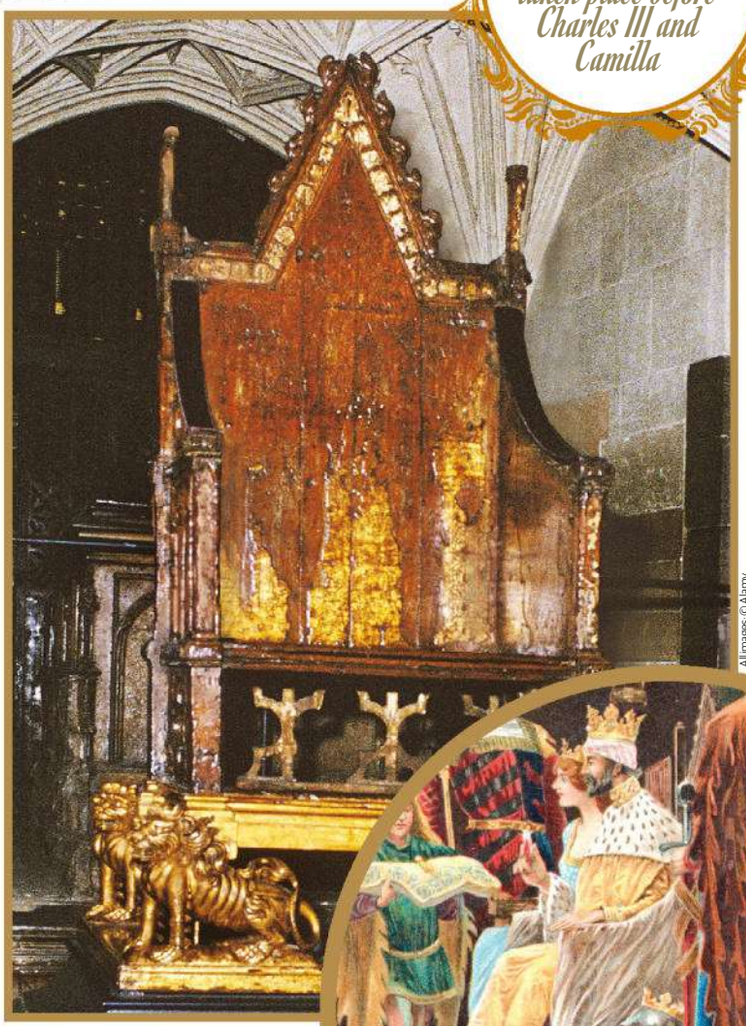
17 coronations of king and queen consort together have taken place before Charles III and Camilla

The Coronation Chair

The Coronation Chair dates back to Edward I, who commissioned the throne to be a 'relic case' for the Stone of Scone (also known as the Stone of Destiny). A relic case is any piece of furniture built to house an important object and Edward I had recently captured the Stone of Scone from Scotland in 1296, where it had been used to crown its kings. An alcove just below the seat of the chair is where the stone sits. The Stone of Scone was returned to Scotland in 1996 and now resides at Edinburgh Castle, but it returns to London to be placed in the chair for coronations.

While Edward I commissioned the chair, it was his successor Edward II who would be the first monarch to be crowned upon it, in 1308. The Coronation Chair was decorated by Walter of Durham, the royal painter to Edward I, and although much of the decoration has faded you can still see the outlines of the golden plants and birds that adorned it. In the 16th century, additions were made to the chair such as four gilt lions. There are also some 'improvised' decorations, such as some graffiti scrawled on the back of the chair around the 18th or 19th century, supposedly by some schoolboys visiting Westminster Abbey. One inscription reads "P. Abbott slept in this chair 5-6 July 1800".

The Coronation Chair resides in St George's Chapel at Westminster Abbey and rarely leaves. Two notable exceptions were when it was used in the ceremony to make Oliver Cromwell Lord Protector at the Palace of Westminster in 1653 and when it was moved to Gloucester Cathedral during the Blitz in WWII to avoid damage, while the Stone of Scone was buried in the Abbey in secret.



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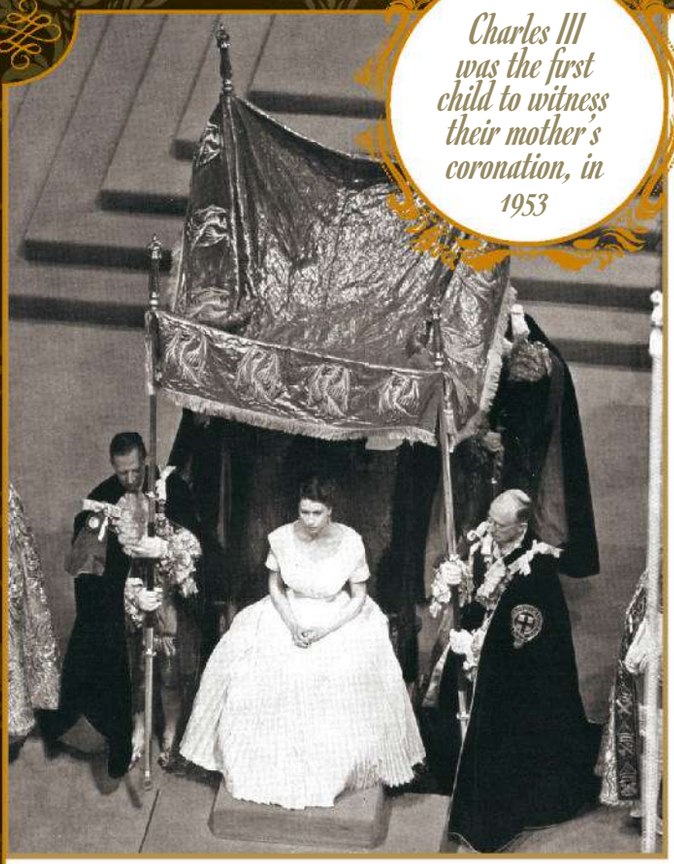

Charles III was the first child to witness their mother's coronation, in 1953

The Location

Coronations in England for nearly 1,000 years have been held at Westminster Abbey. It was William the Conqueror who relocated the coronation to Westminster Abbey for his ceremony in 1066 as he wanted to be crowned close to the burial place of his predecessor, Edward the Confessor, to secure his right to rule as well as being close to the centre of government at Westminster Palace. His successors followed suit, which cemented the Abbey's role in coronations from then on. However, St Peter's Abbey (later Gloucester Cathedral) hosted a rushed coronation for Henry III in 1216 to lock in his claim to the throne before he enjoyed a full ceremony at Westminster in 1220.

Before 1066, coronations took place in a number of locations, depending on where the centre of government or royal court was based at that time. Old Minster in Winchester was the location of Edward the Confessor's coronation, for instance, in 1042. That building was demolished and replaced by Winchester Cathedral in 1093. Edgar the Peaceful was crowned at Bath Abbey in Somerset in 973 and Canterbury Cathedral was the site for the coronation of King Harthnacnut in 1040. Meanwhile, in Scotland, before the crowns of England and Scotland were unified, coronations took place at Scone Abbey for 13 monarchs between 1124 and 1651.

In Westminster, the coronation takes place right at the centre of the Abbey, sitting in the intersection of the cross-shaped building with the coronation chair placed facing the High Altar. This area is called the Coronation Theatre and its most striking feature is the Cosmati Pavement. This mosaic floor was designed and constructed at the request of Henry III in 1268 as part of his rebuild of the Abbey. Its abstract design was unique for the era.

The Oil

While placing the crown on the head of the new monarch may seem like the most important element of a coronation, it could be argued that it's really the anointing that counts. This is, after all, a religious ceremony. The concept of anointing a monarch can be traced back to references in the Bible with the anointing of Solomon. Since it is considered a highly sacred moment, it is not done in view of the congregation. For Elizabeth II, a golden canopy was held over her while the holy oil was used to bless her, on her head, chest and hands.

The chrism oil used to be made using civit oil and ambergris, both derived from animals. Charles III has opted for an animal-friendly recipe, using olive oil, and it has already been consecrated in Jerusalem. For the ceremony it will be poured into the ampulla, shaped like an eagle, from 1661. The eagle shape is a reference to a medieval legend of the Virgin Mary appearing to St Thomas a Becket and giving him a golden eagle and vial of oil to anoint future kings of England. The eagle ampulla was made by Charles II's crown jeweller, Robert Vyner.

The oil is poured from the ampulla into the coronation spoon before the anointing. The spoon is the only surviving item from the Crown Jewels that were destroyed by Oliver Cromwell (it was sold instead) and is believed to date back to the 12th century, likely given to Henry II or Richard I.

The last queen consort to be crowned in a solo ceremony was Anne Boleyn in 1533

The coronation of William III and Mary II was the only joint coronation at Westminster Abbey

The Ceremony

The structure and key elements of a British coronation ceremony have remained the same for hundreds of years. From the moment that a monarch ascends the throne, preparations begin. The earl marshal (a hereditary officer of state) takes the lead on the coronation and is given the keys to Westminster Abbey as a mark of their authority. The earl marshal also oversees royal funerals. The archbishop of Canterbury prepares the order of service and officiates the ceremony itself, including the crowning. The dean of Westminster, usually in charge of Westminster Abbey, takes responsibility for instructing the incoming sovereign and assists the archbishop when needed.

Much of the coronation ceremony on the day is derived from the service used for the first king of all England, King Edgar in 973, who was crowned in Bath. There was a procession, an oath, an anointing and the investiture (bestowing the monarch with royal robes and regalia) followed by a Mass, and this remains the same to this day.

The order of service was recorded in the *Liber Regalis* (*Royal Book*) in 1382. It's believed that this illuminated manuscript was put together for the coronation of Richard II's queen consort, Anne of Bohemia. It includes information on solo coronations and those for a king and queen consort and was the guide for coronations up to Elizabeth I. From James I in 1603 the liturgy, previously in Latin, was translated to English. Each successive coronation has seen minor alterations to accommodate the circumstances of the time, but the *Liber Regalis* remains the basis.

Monarchs are always crowned as part of a Eucharist or Holy Communion service, commemorating Jesus and his disciples at the Last Supper. Communion is most commonly associated with the Catholic faith and early monarchs would have been Catholic prior to the Reformation. However, Communion is also used in Protestantism as a memorial to Christ's death and so it has remained the central part of the ceremony as the archbishop blesses the new king or queen to show they are 'chosen by God'.

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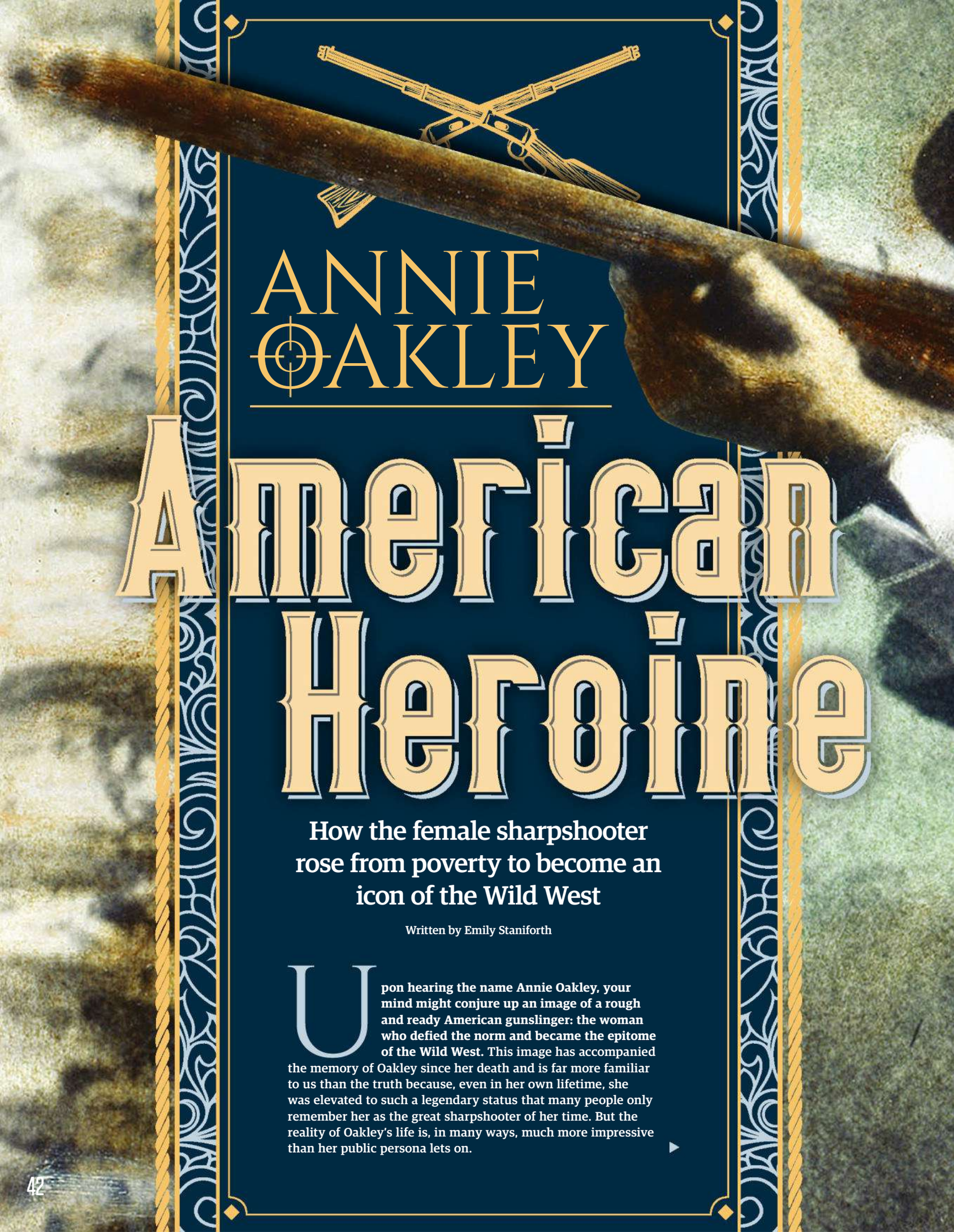
The uncrowned kings

Two Edwards didn't get their coronations

Since 1066, there have been 39 monarchs crowned at Westminster Abbey, but there ought to have been 41. Two kings did not get crowned at the famous church – or anywhere else. The first was Edward V, the 12-year-old son of Edward IV, who was deposed by Richard III having only been king for two months in April 1483. He is best known for being one of the two Princes in the Tower, along with his brother Richard of Shrewsbury. Both are believed to have died around the same time that their parents' marriage was declared invalid and Richard III was made king.

The second was Edward VIII, son of George V, who ascended to the throne in January 1936. He chose to abdicate in December of the same year so that he could marry his American partner Wallis Simpson whose history as a divorcée was thought to threaten the integrity of the monarchy. He was succeeded by his brother, George VI, father of Elizabeth II.



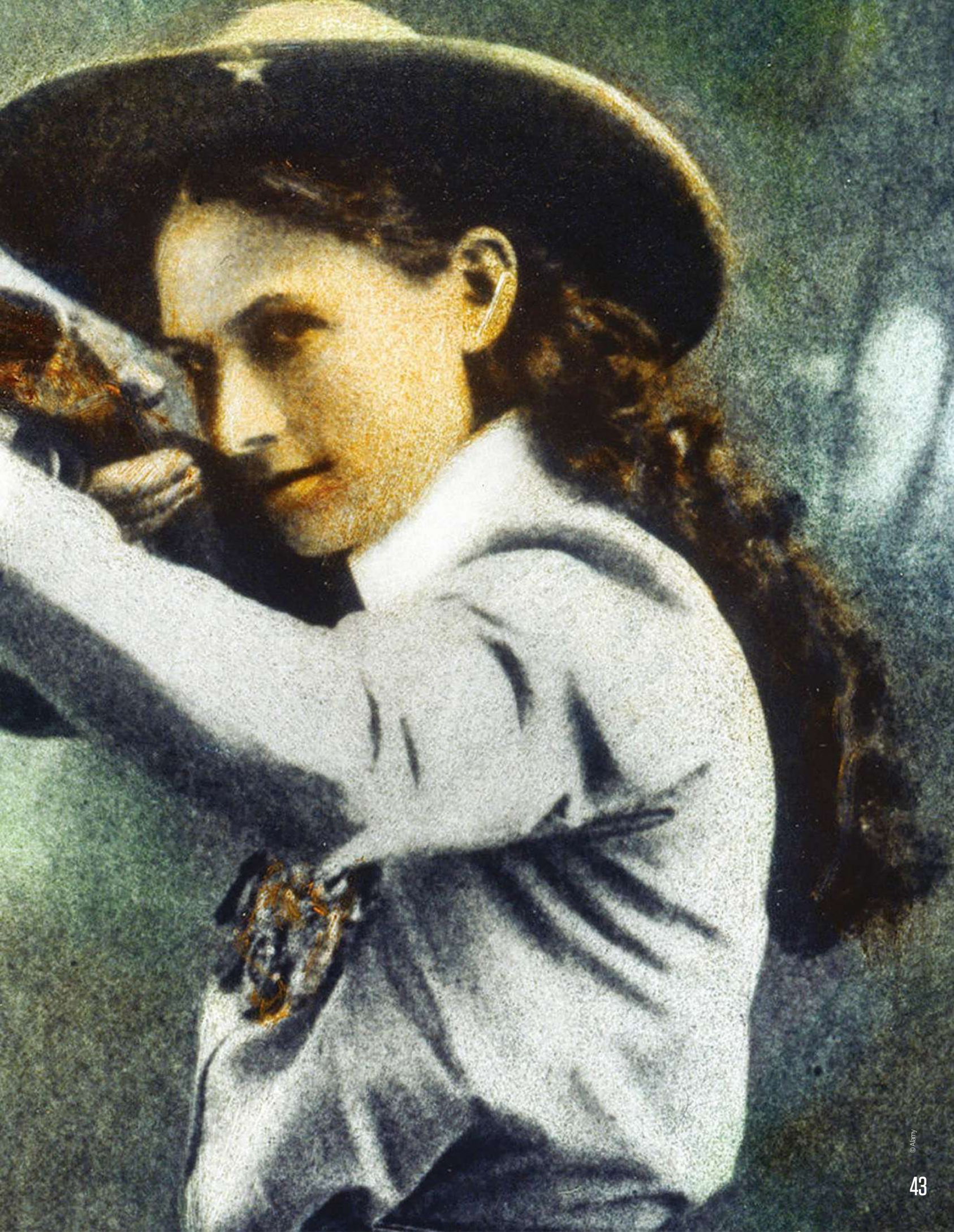
ANNIE OAKLEY

American Heroine

How the female sharpshooter rose from poverty to become an icon of the Wild West

Written by Emily Staniforth

Upon hearing the name Annie Oakley, your mind might conjure up an image of a rough and ready American gunslinger: the woman who defied the norm and became the epitome of the Wild West. This image has accompanied the memory of Oakley since her death and is far more familiar to us than the truth because, even in her own lifetime, she was elevated to such a legendary status that many people only remember her as the great sharpshooter of her time. But the reality of Oakley's life is, in many ways, much more impressive than her public persona lets on.



© Alamy

RIGHT Annie Oakley was born Phoebe Ann Moses in Darke County, Ohio, in 1860

EARLY LIFE

On 13 August 1860 in Darke County, Ohio, a young girl was born who would go on to astound the world with her talent. Phoebe Ann Moses was one of the nine children of Quakers Jacob and Susan Moses. The family lived in a log cabin on a farm that struggled to accommodate the ever-expanding family. Young Phoebe's early life was surrounded by tragedy. Her sister, Catherine, who was born a year before her, had died as a baby and another younger brother was stillborn. When she was six, Phoebe's father became stuck in a blizzard and contracted hypothermia. He was unable to work and was attended to by Phoebe and her sisters throughout the winter, but hypothermia became pneumonia and eventually Jacob died, leaving Susan to raise their seven children by herself. Shortly afterwards, Phoebe's eldest sister, Mary Jane, also died after succumbing to tuberculosis.

As a child Phoebe, nicknamed Annie by her family from a young age, started to help provide for her struggling, poverty-stricken family. Showing early signs of her prowess in shooting, Annie would hunt for food, beginning by using traps and later learning to handle her father's rifle. Susan would remarry, but her bad luck with the health of her husbands continued when her second spouse, Daniel Brumbaugh, also died suddenly. Left holding another baby, a little girl named Emily, Annie's mother found it difficult to support her large family alone, despite her young daughter's help bringing home food.

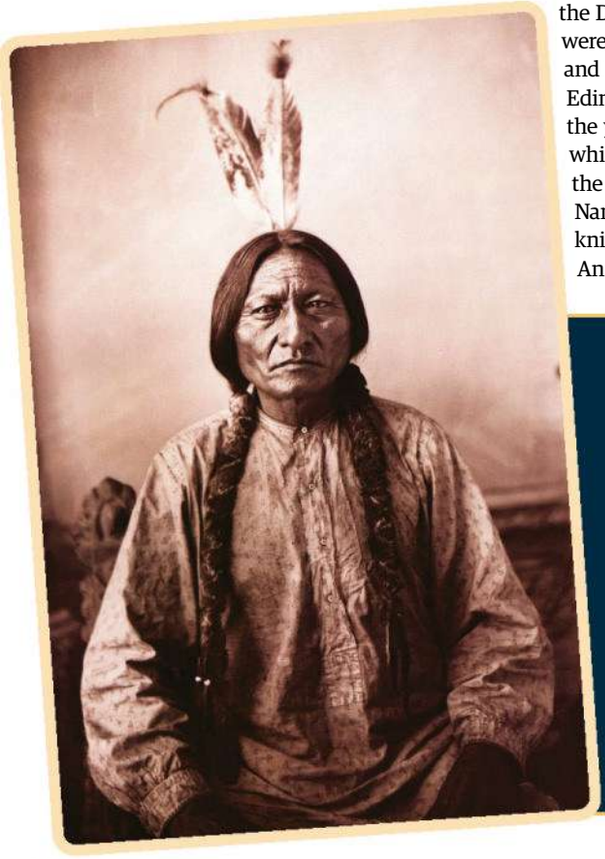
With Susan unable to cope, the children were distributed between local families who offered to help support them. At the age of nine, Annie and her older sister Sarah Ellen were sent to the Darke County Infirmary where they were cared for by the superintendent and his wife, Samuel and Nancy Edington. Annie helped to look after the young children at the infirmary, which was a home to orphans and the mentally unwell. In return, Nancy taught Annie to sew and knit. All seemed to be going well for Annie, until she was sent to take up a position with another local family, working as a carer for their infant child. In her later writings, Annie referred to this family only as "the wolves".

While living with "the wolves", Annie was treated like a slave. The education she had been promised when she took on the job never materialised and Annie was kept busy with hard and laborious work that exhausted her on a daily basis. But she was determined to persevere because she believed that her wages were being sent directly to her mother and siblings. She endured physical abuse at the hands of "the wolves" for nearly two years, while they wrote to her mother with fictional stories of Annie's educational achievements. Eventually, after deciding she could bear it no longer, she ran away. Boarding a train with hardly any money to her name, Annie encountered a good samaritan who paid her fare, allowing her to return home to her mother and her new stepfather, Susan's third husband Joseph Shaw.

After a short time back at home, Annie moved back in with the Edingtons and remained with them for a few years before ultimately spending the rest of her childhood reunited with her beloved family. During this time, she learned to read and write while simultaneously working to support her family as much as she could. She continued to hunt, shooting enough animals in the woods to provide meat for her family and extra game that she would sell on to a local shopkeeper. Annie clearly made a decent living from hunting and she was able to save enough money to pay off her mother's mortgage, giving the ageing Susan peace of mind and stability for the first time in Annie's life. Of her evidently impressive and accurate shooting ability, Annie is reported to have said: "I don't know how I acquired skill, but I suppose I was born with it." Annie's prowess with a gun earned her a reputation within the area – a reputation that would give her an opportunity to leave behind her traumatic childhood.

THE BEGINNINGS OF LITTLE SURE SHOT

At the age of 15, in 1875 Annie's first rendezvous into a career in sharpshooting presented itself. Though specific details of the occasion differ, it is believed that she was visiting her older sister Lydia, who had married and moved to Cincinnati, Ohio, when



A Friend of Sitting Bull

Annie made an unlikely connection with the Native American chief

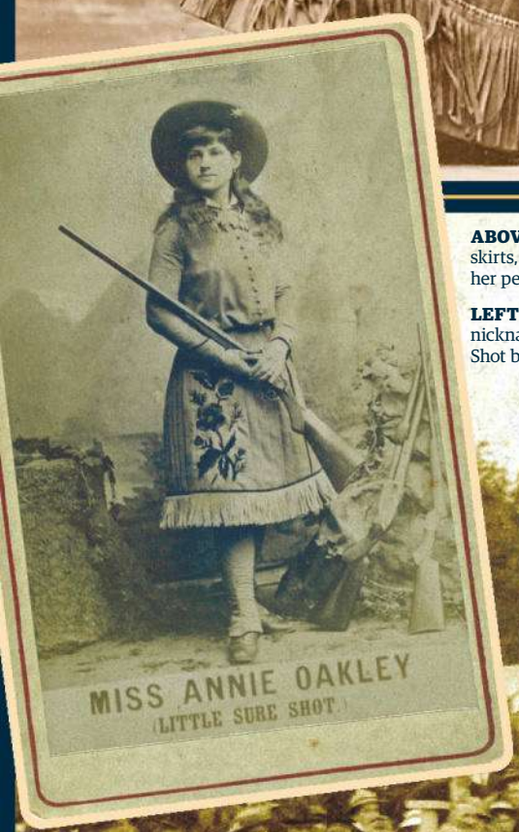
After watching Annie Oakley and Frank Butler perform in St Paul, Minnesota, in 1884, Sitting Bull took a shine to her. Enamoured by her charming disposition and impressed by her talent, Sitting Bull asked to meet Annie the following day. She agreed, and the two quickly became firm friends. It was at this initial meeting that Sitting Bull christened Annie 'Watanya Cicilia', which translates from Lakota into 'Little Sure Shot'. His affection for her did not end there. A year after their first encounter, Sitting Bull joined the stars of Buffalo Bill's Wild West show for a four-month stint. During this time the friendship between Annie and the chief grew even stronger, to the point where Sitting Bull asked her to be his surrogate daughter. She appears to have been flattered by this 'adoption' and referred to her friend as her 'adoptive father'. It is also believed that Sitting Bull gifted Annie with the pair of moccasins that he had been wearing at the Battle of the Little Bighorn.

"Showing early signs of her prowess in shooting, Annie would hunt for food"

she was invited to take part in a shooting match with a travelling marksman called Frank Butler. At this point in Annie's life it is not thought she had any experience in taking part in such shooting matches, or even shooting at metal targets. When Butler heard about his young opponent, he reportedly laughed, presumably believing he would have no difficulty defeating an inexperienced teenage girl. However, Annie proved him wrong, hitting every single one of her targets with great precision. Butler, on the other hand, fell at the final hurdle after missing his very last shot. Annie had proven herself as a gifted sharpshooter and had also captured the heart of her rival. The following year, Annie and Butler married and began their life together, both as a couple and as an entertainment partnership.

Touring America showing off his sharpshooting skills, Butler employed his new wife as his assistant and the duo would perform various tricks and displays. However, over time Annie began to display her own talents in her husband's shows and eventually she began making a name for herself. Their double act went from strength to strength and it was during this phase of her career that Annie began to call herself Annie Oakley. It is unclear where the inspiration for her stage name came from but some have speculated that Oakley was taken from the name of a town near Cincinnati in Ohio. Nevertheless, away from the stage Annie was known as Annie Butler, having officially taken her husband's name after their marriage.

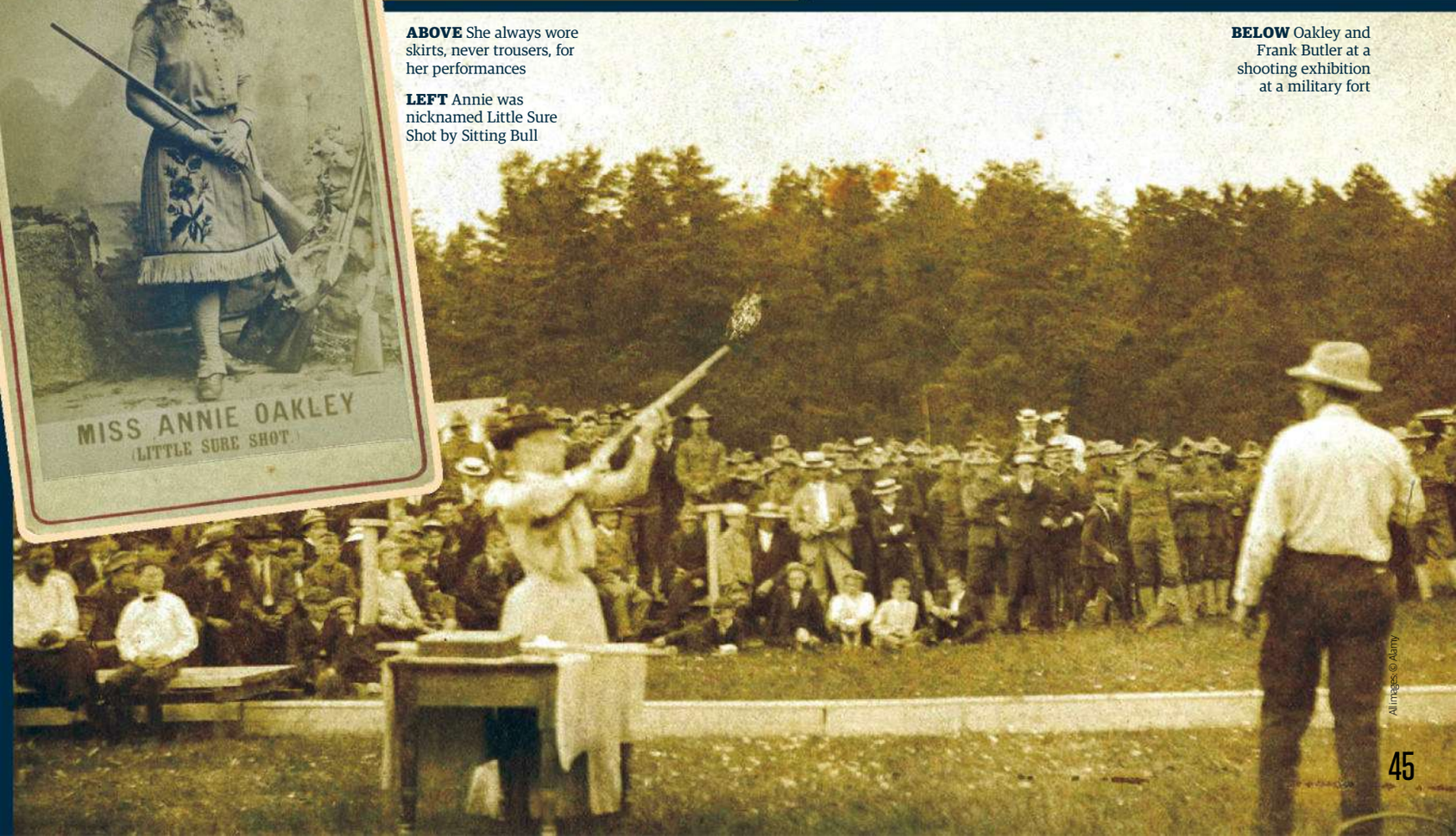
Annie and Butler enjoyed a lot of success touring their own show for the first few years. In 1884, her performance caught the attention of Sitting Bull, the Native American Lakota Sioux



ABOVE She always wore skirts, never trousers, for her performances

LEFT Annie was nicknamed Little Sure Shot by Sitting Bull

BELOW Oakley and Frank Butler at a shooting exhibition at a military fort



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leader who had led his men to victory at the Battle of the Little Bighorn in 1876. Full of admiration for her talents, Sitting Bull gave her the name Little Sure Shot. This moniker would stay with Annie for the rest of her life and would come to adorn the posters advertising her performances – but her fame was only just beginning.

BUFFALO BILL'S WILD WEST SHOW

America's fascination with a romanticised version of the Wild West and the tropes of 'cowboys and Indians' gave rise to a form of entertainment that would ultimately change Annie's life. In 1883, soldier-turned-showman William F Cody had established his own live entertainment show that centred on displays of typical 'cowboy' skills like shooting, riding and roping, with Native American performers taking part in fake battles. Promoting himself as Buffalo Bill, Cody's Wild West show toured the country to great critical acclaim.

In 1885, Annie and Butler joined Buffalo Bill's show and it quickly became apparent that Little Sure Shot was a star in the making. As a woman, she stood out from the crowd as the prominent American sharpshooters of the time were predominantly men. However, Annie never shied away from using her femininity to get ahead. "To present herself as a woman who had developed all the feminine skills that would be expected was very important to her," observed women's studies professor Mary Zeiss Stange in *Smithsonian Magazine*. Annie always wore skirts, never trousers, and conducted herself in a demure and 'ladylike' manner as would have been expected in the era.

Her uniqueness helped her to shine and she soon became one of the Wild West show's most popular performers, thriving in the limelight. Despite having joined the show as a double act, Butler graciously took a step back and allowed his wife to flourish when it became clear that she was fast becoming the star of the show. Taking on the role of Annie's manager and often performing alongside her as her assistant, Butler found his place in the company.

ABOVE Annie pictured in 1922 holding a gun given to her by Buffalo Bill

RIGHT A poster from c.1901 advertising Annie in Buffalo Bill's Wild West show

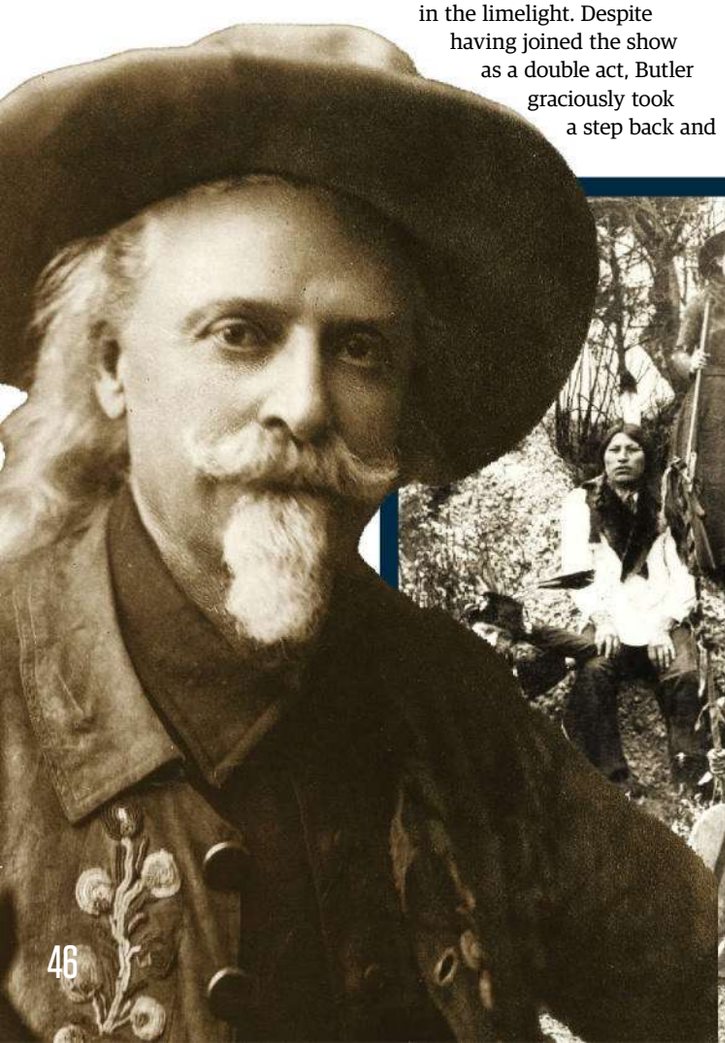
From this point onwards, Annie's career went from strength to strength. In her role in Buffalo Bill's show she came to embody America's idea of the Wild West in spite of the fact that she actually had no connection to the Wild West. She quickly became the show's highest-paid entertainer and she was the star attraction of many performances, headlining with her act that showcased her shooting skills in a much more flashy way than she had ever done before. Posters for the shows marketed Annie as a "Champion Markswoman" and her elaborate tricks and impressive feats saw her fame grow across America.

During her 17 years in Buffalo Bill's Wild West show Annie travelled across Europe, garnering an international reputation for herself. One of the highlights of these trips was a performance for Queen Victoria as part of her Golden Jubilee celebrations in June 1887. The queen is said to have been impressed with Annie, reportedly saying to her: "You're a very clever girl." Other European dignitaries were also delighted by her abilities, especially Kaiser Wilhelm of Germany, who asked her to shoot a cigarette out of his hand, which of course she did with great skill.

FEMINISM AND PHILANTHROPY

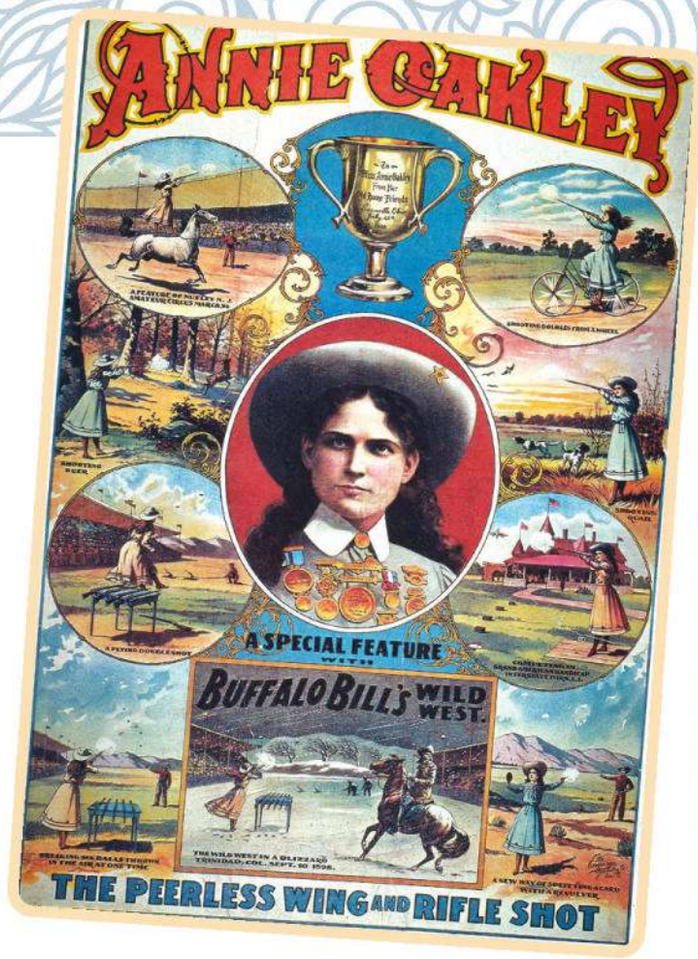
Despite the fame and wealth that she had accumulated during her time with Buffalo Bill's company, Annie decided to leave the Wild West show in 1901 after she had been injured in a train accident. However, after recovering and with Butler at her side she continued to perform, both as part of another company and on her own.

But it wasn't just her sharpshooting performances that made her a heroine of her time. As a woman in a man's world she helped to educate and advocate for other women. It is estimated



BELOW-LEFT Buffalo Bill was quick to spot Annie's potential to be a star

BELOW Oakley with her Native American colleagues



"Oakley soon became one of the Wild West show's most popular performers"

that she taught around 15,000 women to shoot in a series of free classes she provided, with the aim of helping women protect themselves. She also made two offers to train female-only regiments for the US Army – once at the outbreak of the Spanish-American War in April 1898 and again during the First World War. Though her suggestion was denied on both occasions, these occasions highlighted her belief that women should have equal rights and be allowed to participate in war the same way as their male counterparts. However, in an unexplained turn of events, Annie publicly declared that she did not support women's suffrage despite the fact that she had spent much of her life supporting female empowerment.

Towards the end of her life, she aspired to branch out as a performer and harboured ambitions to star in films. She continued to shoot, though injuries sustained in a car accident in 1922 kept her from doing so for a couple of years. Annie also published her memoirs in various newspapers. Sadly, pernicious anaemia (an autoimmune condition that affects the stomach) took hold in 1926 and she died on 3 November at the age of 66 at her home in Ohio. Just three weeks later, her doting husband also died. At the time of their deaths, there was very little left of the great fortune the pair had amassed as they had donated most of their earnings to support the education of orphaned children.

Though Annie never realised her dream of starting in movies, her incredible life has regularly been the inspiration for films and theatre. Not only was she famous in her own lifetime, her memory is still adored today by people who continue to idolise her and her pioneering spirit. While she may not have actually been from the Wild West, her dynamic persona persists and her legacy as an American heroine lives on.

Annie on Stage and Screen

There have been many depictions of the sharpshooter in theatre and cinema

Annie Oakley *(1935)*

Starring Barbara Stanwyck as Annie, this film is loosely based on the tale of how she became the star of Buffalo Bill's Wild West show. The plot revolves around Annie's romance with fictional marksman Toby Walker and heavily features her friendship with Sitting Bull.

Annie Get Your Gun *(1946)*

The Irving Berlin musical was based on Annie's life. The plot follows her (embellished) on-off relationship with Frank Butler and follows her on her travels with Buffalo Bill's Wild West show. Two of the musical's biggest hits are the songs *There's No Business Like Show Business* and *Anything You Can Do (I Can Do Better)*. In 1950, a hugely popular film version was made starring Betty Hutton and Howard Keel.

Buffalo Girls *(1996)*

Based on the book by Larry McMurtry, the TV film *Buffalo Girls* follows the exploits of sharpshooter Calamity Jane as she joins Buffalo Bill's show in her efforts to cling on to the disappearing Wild West culture. Reba McEntire plays Annie alongside Anjelica Huston as Calamity Jane.

Tall Tales & Legends *(1985)*

In this TV anthology series created by *The Shining's* Shelley Duvall, Annie is portrayed by Jamie Lee Curtis. The dedicated episode, entitled *Annie Oakley*, tells the story of how she overcame obstacles to become a celebrated markswoman and heroine of the American Wild West.

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Manco Cápac and Mama Ocllo appearing to the 'savages' of Cusco, as imagined in this picture from Giulio Ferrario's *Costumes Antique and Modern of All Peoples*, 1842

THE FIRST INCA

Who was Manco Cápac, the founder of the Kingdom of Cusco?

Written by Arisa Loomba

The Inca Empire was the largest of the ruling civilisations that existed before Christopher Columbus ushered in a period of Western colonisation in the region. Long before his arrival there was Manco Cápac: founder, son of the Sun and the guiding force of his ancestor-siblings. Fearsome and perhaps cruel, Manco is preserved in myth in worshipful remembrance. Central to Inca beliefs about the dawn of civilisation, historians are fairly convinced of his existence, yet our knowledge of him remains hazy.

Manco Cápac is said to have been the founder and first governor of the Inca people, the Sapa Inca. Born into a nomadic lifestyle in the ancient city of Tamputoco, he was of the Tambu tribe, for which his father, Apu Tambo, was a captain. When his father died Manco succeeded him, becoming the head of the ayllu (family clan, organised under a system of local government). Made up of multiple nomadic families, the city ayllu travelled on routes similar to those detailed in the origin story of Manco and his siblings, likely arriving at the Cusco Valley, where they warred with the existing tribes. Manco's tribe was small and inconsequential compared to many of the others in the valley, who saw the Inca as invaders. Time and time again, the early Inca were forced to defend their new city.

LEFT *The Investiture of Sinchi Roca* by Manco Cápac, 1616

Of the eight siblings, there were the four Ayar brothers, each with a sister-wife, Manco's being Mama Ocllo (Ocllo meaning 'pure'). The legend of the Ayar brothers suggests that Manco killed his brothers one by one, trapping them in caves or turning them to stone (much as he supposedly defeated rival tribes), leaving him as the sole leader. When his last remaining brother, Ayar Auca, died two years after their arrival in Cusco, Manco inherited all four sister-wives – a fine inheritance with which to bring forth a dynasty of 400 sons.

Yet another version of the Inca origin myth states that Manco Cápac was indeed a son of man, and that he fabricated his divine origins as the offspring of the Sun. It's said that he tricked people into worshipping him by wearing silver plates on his body that shone in the Sun atop a mountain, giving him a god-like appearance.

We know some information about Manco Cápac's rule, mythical or not. He supposedly established a code of laws, abolishing human sacrifice and forbidding marriage between siblings, despite having married his own sisters. It is said that he coaxed the surrounding tribes into relative civilisation by introducing them to fire, agricultural techniques and the superior Quechua language. Perhaps Inti had taken pity on these uncivilised people and sent them deliverance through Manco Cápac and Mama Ocllo.

ABOVE-LEFT This American wood engraving from 1848 depicts Manco Cápac and Mama Ocllo first appearing to the Peruvians

ABOVE-RIGHT Manco Cápac claimed he had divine origins as the offspring of the Sun

BELOW Manco Cápac and Mama Huaca Ocllo, the 'children of the Sun', come from Lake Titicaca to govern and 'civilise' the tribes of Peru

But as we know, it was likely that tribes in the region had previously developed sophisticated terracing techniques for the mountainous slopes and had successful agricultural yields well before the arrival of Manco and his followers. According to historian Burr Cartwright Brundage, the Inca arrival marked a period of extreme ethnic upheaval. These tribes, particularly the Hualla, held great disdain for Manco Cápac displacing them from their homeland of time immemorial. The anti-Inca sentiment passed down across generations was easily exploited by the Spanish many centuries later as they sought to justify their ruthless destruction of the Inca Empire.

"Legend has it that Manco killed his brothers, trapping them in caves or turning them to stone"

Along their journey the son of Manco and Ocllo was conceived: Sinchi Roca. Mama Ocllo was an oracle and shapeshifter of curious abilities but was loved by the people of Cusco for her beauty, making her – debatably – the true power at the heart of Manco's kingdom. There is much evidence of the centrality of Manco's sister-wives, female power supporting what is often considered the sole efforts of Manco Cápac.

Another sister-wife, Mama Huaca, is said to have arrived in the then-tropical Cusco Valley ahead of her brother, planting corn, causing a change of seasons and cultivating the region. When Manco Cápac entered, he was already worshipped as conqueror. It is speculated as to the true status of Mama Huaca. Was she Manco's sister, or was she also Manco's mother and the mighty Earth goddess known as Pachamama?

Some, prompted by Guaman Poma, believe she was descended from a race of serpents and bore Manco to a demon inside the cave from which they emerged, making him both her son and her consort when she married him. In this reading, she was promiscuous and powerful, mating with entire villages conquered by the king and queen couple Manco and Ocllo,

placing two divine women at the heart of Manco's success.

The validity of these myths as legitimate according to oral Inca legend is questionable, never having been written down until 1609 by the mestizo chronicler Inca Garcilaso de la Vega, descended from both Spanish and Inca ancestors. Born in Peru but educated in Spain, he depicted Manco Cápac as an undoubted hero-king. Each time the myth was written or told some details were different. There was never a standardised account of Manco Cápac's life.

As with most ancient civilisations, particularly oral cultures, their exact origins are unknown. Indeed, the 'true' history of the Inca is still being written, if such a thing is possible. What we do know was passed down orally through the generations, or through storytelling on stone, pottery, jewellery and woven tapestry. There is an uncertain delineation between myth and history when it comes to narrating Inca history; with the passing down of oral history, there was never a discernible difference between what Western historians might see as mythical story versus historical fact. This stems from the Inca understanding of history as operating in cycles, patterns that repeat themselves, rather than a linear progression of time from the past to present. The Inca did not perceive their past in chronological terms, from one distinct ruler to another. Unproblematic according to Inca tradition, it reveals many gaps and blurry episodes when attempting to fit it to European traditions of chronological time.

The most famous of these accounts is perhaps that written by Juan de Betanzos, who was fluent in Quechua, and married the former wife of the last Inca leader, Atahualpa, who was kidnapped and killed by the Spanish in 1532. He used oral Inca sources from his wife and her family, claiming to faithfully recount history and the elasticity of time from the indigenous perspective. With further interrogation though, the motives for which Inca histories were written (that of understanding the enemy to better exterminate them) lead us to question what has been left out – or exaggerated – for Spanish readers. What could be lurking in obscurity might never be known.

Indeed, the most famous images of Manco Cápac are two colonial paintings produced by the Cusco School in the 18th and 19th centuries. The paintings position Manco against the Sun, his divine father,

A statue of Manco Cápac stands proudly in Huajsapata Park, overlooking the city of Puna, Peru

golden staff in hand. The first Inca is depicted within European artistic styles and norms of the time, conforming to how they would have imagined a great emperor to be, rather than how he may have appeared to the Inca people themselves. Glittering ancient civilisation to Europeans called to mind the Greeks and the Romans; myth, war, mystery and splendour. Humans at the cusp of primitive religion and triumphant civilisation.

Even the most famous Inca voice on Peruvian history was Guaman Poma, whose woodcut illustrations and written stories similarly depicted Manco, Mama Ocllo and Mama Huaca in the manner of Biblical figures and ancient European legends. Heralded as the authentic voice of the Incas, 80 years after the Spanish conquest, Poma's understanding of history was irrevocably changed by Christian tradition. Many aspects of the story of Manco Cápac are reminiscent of the origins of the world told in the Bible, and we cannot know if it was told this way before the Spanish arrival or not.

So how can we see Manco Cápac as both a historical and mythological figure beyond the Spanish colonial gaze? Can we know anything about Manco when we strip away the layers of Spanish storytelling and translation from Quechua to Spanish, oral to written? How might contemporary indigenous Peruvians view and depict their founder-ancestor; can they even do so through a lens that they can claim as their own?

Telling the story of Manco Cápac only opens up more questions, reveals more gaps in the record. One thing we do know about Manco Cápac, son of the Sun, is that he left behind an enduring legacy in which his presence is felt, if not the exact details of his life.

Manco Cápac died in his new homeland of natural causes, succeeded by his son with his sister- wife Mama Ocllo, Sinchi Roca. The Temple of the Sun was built on the very place of his death, where his mummified body was preserved and later moved to the Tiwanaku temple in Lake Titicaca. He had 400 children to continue his bloodline, leaving behind a great dynasty.

In Cusco, a statue stands in his commemoration, and an airport (Inca Manco Cápac International Airport) in the city of Juliaca bears his name, both ensuring that Peru's pre-conquest history and strength might remain at the forefront of the minds of locals and visitors.

As Spanish theologian, historian and doctor Sebastian Lorente would write in his *Historia Antigua del Peru* in 1860, Manco Cápac, the enlightened reformer, surely must have been born to Peru, for he had been imbued with the Peruvian national spirit.

The Adoration of Manco Cápac (1616) shows him being worshipped as a divine ruler

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THE LIFE AND LEGACY OF CONFUCIUS

How the ancient teacher, philosopher and politician laid down the foundations for Chinese culture

Written by Poppy-Jay St. Palmer

You don't need to practise Confucianism to know the teachings of Confucius. From gems like 'Silence is a true friend who never betrays' to 'Everything has beauty, but not everyone sees it', you've likely come across a handful of his pearls of wisdom. For centuries, the ancient Chinese philosopher's teachings have helped guide countless people around the world – a great feat by itself – but his impact is in fact even greater. His philosophies and belief system were not only one of the most influential in ancient China; many scholars argue that they actually laid down the foundation for much of Chinese and East Asian culture as a whole.

Existing for more than 2,500 years, Confucianism is concerned with inner virtue, morality and thought for the community and its values. It represents a very human approach to life, centred on good character and respect. Confucius said it best with perhaps his most famous proverb: "Do not do unto others what you would not want others to do unto you." There's still debate today about whether Confucianism can be considered a philosophy or a religion. Some call it a social ethic or a political ideology. To better understand the origins of Confucianism we can look to Confucius' life, from his modest upbringing and career as a politician to his years as a philosopher and beyond.

As he was born towards the end of the Spring and Autumn Period (8th to 5th

LEFT Dedicating himself to self-education, Confucius valued continuous self-improvement

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centuries BCE), sources about Confucius' life are sparse. Official historical records hardly mention his name, as much of his work as a politician was done behind the scenes. However, the gaps in the records have inspired scholars and historians to scour other sources for evidence of Confucius' impact. Where he is indeed mentioned, he is referred to as Kong Fu-Tzu, meaning 'Master Kong', with Confucius being a Latinised form of his Mandarin Chinese title.

'Life is really simple, but we insist on making it complicated'

Confucius was born in Lu, a regional state of eastern China now known as Shandong province. His father, Shu-liang He, was a scholar from a noble family and a warrior who had seen many battles. Before Confucius, he had ten other children with two women, but as his brood was made up of nine daughters and one son with deformed feet, Confucius became his first healthy heir. Confucius' mother, Yan Zhengzai, was significantly younger than Shu-liang. His father died not long after Confucius was born, and he was left to grow up in poverty. This experience, so separate from his noble ancestors, caused him to develop a lifelong sympathy for the suffering of the common people and began to turn him into the great thinker we still know today.

The state of Lu was bound to the imperial court of the Zhou dynasty (11th to 3rd centuries BCE) through history, culture, complex family ties and moral obligations. Some scholars believe that Confucius was the descendent of the Kongs from the state of Song, a revered and aristocratic family with strong ties to Song's rulers. However, things had changed dramatically by Confucius' time. By the 7th century, the Kongs had lost most of their political standing and much of their wealth, and many of them relocated to Lu. Their new social standing meant they had lost the hereditary entitlements of their ancestors. They were still common gentlemen, and their education in the six arts of ritual – including rites, music, archery, chariotry, calligraphy and mathematics – meant they could gain employment in the army or administrative positions easily enough, but they still weren't ranked that much higher than common folk when it came to the social hierarchy.

'Learn as if you were not reaching your goal and as though you were scared of missing it'

Confucius' lowly upbringing made it a lot harder for him to enter government service than his ancestors. As a result, he became skilled in more menial jobs, and eventually gained employment with the Jisun clan, a prominent family containing members who had served as the chief counsellors to the rulers of Lu. With his foot in the door, Confucius began in more modest positions like keeper of granaries and livestock, and was finally able to support his poor mother and siblings.

It was through a wealthy friend that he was afforded the opportunity to study at the Royal Archives while he worked. Burying himself in the archives' ancient texts (which were often regarded as irrelevant relics of

ABOVE-RIGHT Confucius worked his way up from his humble start in a life of poverty

LEFT A classic depiction of Confucius, although we can't be certain what he looked like

CONFUCIUS AND THE QILIN

Legend says that the philosopher's greatness was foretold

In Chinese mythology you'll find a number of fascinating beasts and creatures, but one, the Qilin, has a special connection to the story of Confucius. The name translates to English as unicorn, although it doesn't look much like the horned horse you would be familiar with. This mythical creature has the head of a dragon, the body of a deer or tiger (with a yellow belly and multicoloured back), the tail of an ox and is sometimes covered in scales or wreathed in flames. Despite this fierce visage, it is said to be vegetarian and peaceful, not even bending the grass beneath its feet when it walks.

It's said that the sighting of a qilin heralds the birth or death of a great sage or leader, and legend claims that one appeared to Confucius' pregnant mother before his birth, coughing up a jade tablet that predicted her son's potential. Years later, another qilin was injured by a charioteer, supposedly presaging the philosopher's death. It speaks to the high place of Confucius in Chinese culture that a qilin should appear in legends for both his birth and demise.

the forgotten past), Confucius began to build a new world view. Their stories and wisdom inspired him. He found value in learning about ritual, literature and history, and believed that human character was formed in the family. It was his belief that people enlightened in this way were concerned with helping others, guiding them by moral inspiration rather than more manipulative or violent means.

'Choose a job you love and you'll never work a day in your life'

With his newfound knowledge, Confucius confidently climbed the ranks at work, and was eventually appointed Minister of Crime, and an advisor to the ruler of Lu. He quickly proved himself to be effective in problem solving when it came to matters of law and order, and somehow even better with diplomacy. He was protective of his employers, always making sure they were prepared for the unexpected and well out of harm's way.

During his political tenure, Confucius also gained a reputation for his teachings. It was through his philosophies that the noble families he worked for came to see the value of proper conduct and righteousness to help them gain power from the legitimate rulers of Lu. At that time, Chinese states fought endlessly against each other. Rulers of those states were often assassinated, sometimes by members of their own families, in a quest for power and supremacy. This heartless approach to governance didn't sit right with Confucius. He exemplified integrity and benevolence, which were the codes by which he lived. Unsurprisingly, he deeply disagreed with the actions of his employers. From 498 BCE, a major clash broke out among different states involving revolts, battles and destruction. Confucius finally hit his limit when another state sent the ruler of Lu a troop of dancing girls and his boss ignored his official duties to enjoy the gift. Confucius could no longer play a part in the corruption. He left his government position in disgust and entered a long, self-inflicted exile.

ABOVE This image refers to a story of Confucius debating with an eight-year-old boy

'Wherever you go, go with all your heart'

Despite all he had seen during his time in Lu, Confucius wasn't ready to give up on his vision of a virtuous government. He spent the next 14 years travelling from state to state, trying to find a worthy ruler to serve, one that led with kindness and integrity. From Lu, he travelled west to the state of Wei, south to Song and then to Chen and Cai. Confucius' search was a tough one. Though many of China's leaders didn't quite rule with an iron fist, they ▶

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LEFT The philosopher working with his pupils in collating and transcribing documents

certainly didn't hold back when it came to using punishment and military power to govern their lands. What Confucius was suggesting – ruling with ethical charisma to inspire others to follow – was far from a common concept.

Confucius believed that the love and respect we learn from being part of a family are fundamental to all other virtues, and that duties to your family sometimes eclipsed obligations to the state. During Confucius' travels, the Duke of Sheh bragged to him that his subjects were so honourable that when one man stole a sheep, his own son was quick to testify against him. However, this only convinced Confucius that the duke was ruling with the wrong values in mind. He believed a truly honourable person would have protected his family from punishment. He said to the duke: "Among us, in our part of the country, those who are upright are different from this. The father conceals the misconduct of the son, and the son conceals the misconduct of the father. Uprightness is to be found in this."

'It does not matter how slowly you go as long as you do not stop'

During his exile, Confucius endured many hardships. He starved, his life was threatened and he was even imprisoned at one point. But he didn't allow any of the challenges he faced to discourage his goal. A man of great inner strength, he believed a person could always find joy in learning. He also looked back to Zhougong, or the Duke of Zhou, a brother of the founder of the Zhou dynasty, for guidance. The duke existed around 500 years before Confucius, but the latter believed their approaches to governance were compatible. They both wanted social harmony and political stability for the dynasty, grounded in trust and moral obligations. Unlike the duke, Confucius was not royalty, and therefore had limited political authority to enact change by himself.

BELOW-LEFT Confucius is said to have claimed only 77 of his students comprehended his teachings

BELOW-RIGHT A depiction of Sakyamuni (or the Buddha), Lao Tzu (leading Taoist philosopher), and Confucius from the Ming dynasty

Despite his goal to find a leader, he ended up becoming one. Word of his philosophies got around, and he slowly gained a number of dedicated followers who accompanied him on his journey. Young men from many different backgrounds, from sons of aristocrats to merchants, artisans and even criminals, found value in Confucius' words and followed him in attempts to gain wisdom that would help further their own official careers. Those that followed him called themselves his 'disciples' and 'apprentices', and even began recording his teachings, which have since been edited into a book we know in English as the *Analects*.

A few of his disciples became well-known themselves. Among some of his earliest were Zigong, Zilu and Yan Hui. Zigong had been an ex-merchant who was clever and quick on his feet, with aspirations to become a diplomat. Confucius shared with him his thoughts on poetry and ritual practices. Zilu was a strong and loyal man who would do whatever it took to protect Confucius from harm. The philosopher took him in to teach him the difference between strength and loyalty and being a genuinely virtuous person.

Yan Hui was a poor man who was content with living in a lowly neighbourhood. He possessed an unceasing love of learning and a desire to be a truly good person, and became Confucius' favourite of the bunch. When Yan Hui died, Confucius was heartbroken and expressed such unbridled sadness that his other disciples thought it inappropriate. Confucius said in response: "If not for this man, for whom should I show so much sorrow?"

'Our greatest glory is not in never falling, but in rising every time we fall'

Confucius' search for a virtuous ruler was long and fruitless. Having spent years travelling across his homeland, he finally returned to Lu as an elderly man. Though he returned to his old work now and then, advising officials on matters of crime and governance, he spent most of the remainder of his life as a teacher and philosopher. He took even more disciples under his wing, and continued laying the foundations of Confucianism. He also started recording his wisdom and the wisdom of those who came before him into ancient Chinese texts now known as the *Four Books* and *Five Classics*. It is through these texts, which include the *Analects*, that the core values and belief systems of Confucius' philosophy have been passed down from century to century. The texts – and Confucius' teachings – have travelled a lot further than ancient China. Over the years, they have been translated into a number of other languages and studied in many countries all over the world, from Japan, Korea and Vietnam all the way to those in Western civilisation.

Confucius' remarkable life makes it easy to see how some view Confucianism as a religion. In Tibet, the philosopher is even often worshipped as a master of magic, divination and astrology by those of the Buddhist and Bon traditions. His timeless wisdom and exceptional circumstances, from growing up in poverty to working with rulers and embarking on a long and arduous exile, make him an obvious choice for a religious leader. But whether Confucianism is viewed as a religion, a philosophy, or even just a set of proverbs used to guide your actions, there's no denying the impact Confucius has had on not just Chinese culture but the wider world.

THREE SCHOOLS OF PHILOSOPHY

A quick guide to ancient Chinese thought

Confucianism

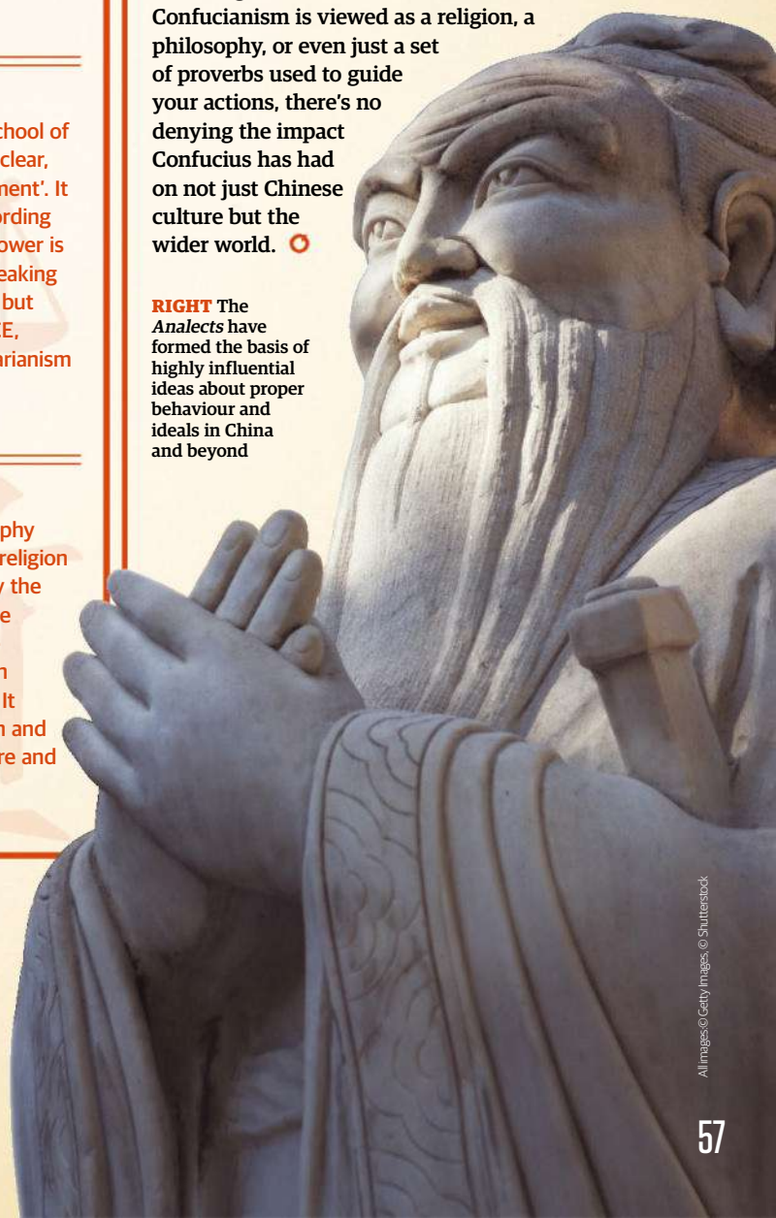
As the name suggests, the teachings of this school came from the work of Confucius and promoted humanity, loyalty, piety and ritual. Two of its key precepts were the Golden Rule, to treat others as you would want to be treated and the concept of Yin and Yang, of balance between opposites, finding middle ground and compromise.

Legalism

The more pragmatic and political school of philosophy, legalism's motto is 'set clear, strict laws, or deliver harsh punishment'. It teaches that rulers should rule according to a set of laws, from which their power is bestowed. Perhaps not a groundbreaking set of thoughts in the 21st century, but fairly unusual in the 8th century BCE, although it evolved towards totalitarianism by the 3rd century BCE.

Taoism

Also known as Daoism, this philosophy evolved into something closer to a religion and was most heavily influenced by the philosopher Lao Tzu. It also uses the Yin and Yang symbol and the name Tao translates to path or way, which can mean the flow of the universe. It believes in compassion, moderation and humility, with an emphasis on nature and respect of the past.



RIGHT The *Analects* have formed the basis of highly influential ideas about proper behaviour and ideals in China and beyond

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WELCOME TO

STERS RADISE

The American mob's reign in pre-Castro Cuba is legendary, but have elements of mythos been spun into historical gospel?

Written by Christian Cipollini

A regal dictator calmly addresses a crowd during a New Year's Eve celebration; he speaks with stoic poise, hoping to make a grand exit as low key as possible. As he departs, followed by confidants and staff in step, guests process the grim reality of the situation and panic soon paints their expressions. They rapidly shuffle out and the scene cuts to ragtag rebels motoring through the streets in their own celebratory way. *The Godfather Part II* cinematically captured both the exotic beauty and maligned undercurrents of political turmoil and a mobbed up Havana masterfully, but that was a fictionalised tale with characters only loosely based on the actual criminal overlords. So then, who were the real people involved, and how did the organised crime's virtual utopia in Cuba come to a bitter end?

PICTURE WORTH A THOUSAND IMPLICATIONS

Sinatra never denied his presence in Cuba, yet the photos instigated decades of conjecture and allegations

When the crooner landed in Havana on 11 February 1947, a newsreel team happened to be there too. A still frame shows (according to government agents at the time) Sinatra situated near Chicago gangsters Joe and Rocco Fischetti (a third Fischetti, Charlie, was also on the flight). That image furthered suspicion and narratives formulated by unfriendly columnists and agents of the FBI and Narcotics Bureau. Sinatra already bore bad blood with some gossip columnists, but the Feds to that point only had him on radar for reasons relating to the 'red scare' (communist rhetoric). Everything changed quickly when American writer Robert Ruark outed Lucky Luciano's presence in Havana and implied Sinatra and the kingpin were pals. If the primary target of Ruark's war of attrition was Luciano, with Sinatra secondary, then columnist Lee Mortimer's was the flip side. He upped the ante against the singer by suggesting to government contacts that Sinatra's carry-on bag (seen in the photo) was packed with a $2,000,000 gift for Luciano. Sinatra tried feverishly to douse the flames of PR hell, but it didn't help when he slugged Mortimer in a New York club two months later.

Both Sinatra and Luciano vehemently denied they ever knew each other prior to a 'chance' meeting in Cuba, but when Senator Estes Kefauver set his sights on American organised crime in the 1950s the infamous photo reappeared publicly, while a handful of 'other' photos were presented to Sinatra, allegedly depicting him hobnobbing with Luciano, the Fischettis and other 'known' gangsters. Interestingly, at least one of the purported photos disappeared. According to a 1962 FBI memo, "A photograph of Sinatra taken with two of the leading gangsters in this country was stolen from the files of the Kefauver Crime Investigation Committee not too long ago."

"THE TROPICAL CLIMATE, LEGAL LIQUOR, GAMBLING AND GEOGRAPHICAL STONE'S THROW BECKONED EXPANSIONIST AMERICAN MOBSTERS"

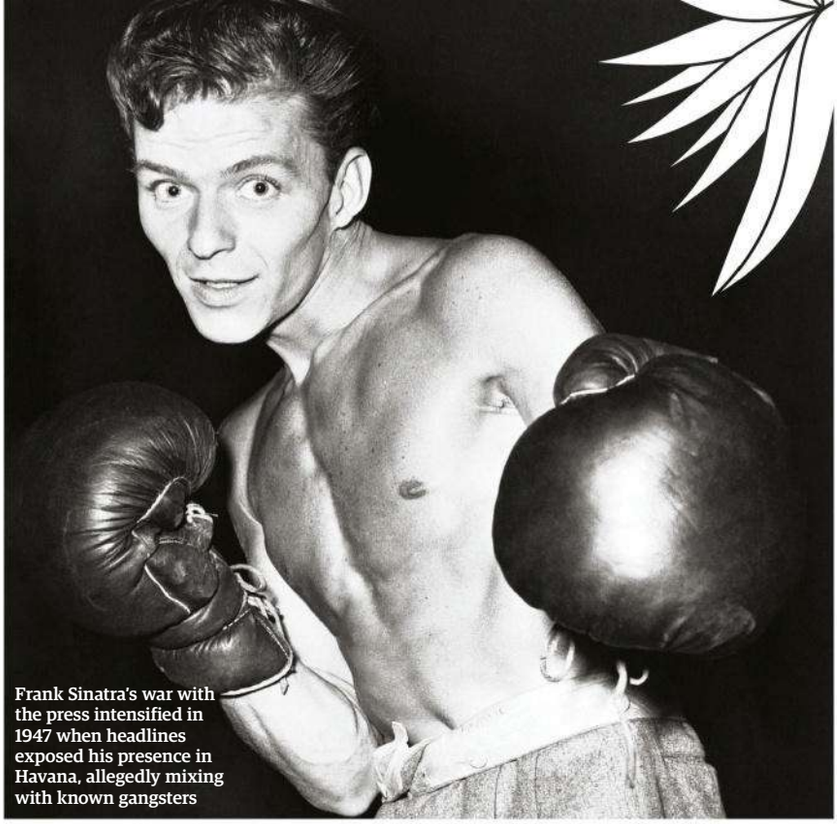
ABOVE Conrad 'Connie' Immerman (pictured in 1936), NY club owner and jet-setting socialite friendly with celebrities, the press and gangsters alike

Underworld figures, not unlike tourists from high society, were drawn to the island nation quite early in the 20th century. "The port of Havana has been an extremely important, and strategic, port since the 1500s," explains Scott Deitche, author of *Cigar City Mafia: A Complete History of the Tampa Underworld*. "By the early 1900s Havana was the most important port of trade with Florida as well as other Gulf ports, like New Orleans, due to proximity." Frequency of travel increased with the onset of Prohibition in 1919. The tropical climate, legal liquor, gambling establishments and geographical stone's throw (located just 90 nautical miles from the United States) beckoned expansionist American mobsters looking to mix business and pleasure.

THE EARLY YEARS

Gangsters created the international pipelines of smuggling routes, established distribution hubs and mastered the art of political payoffs to ultimately provide the supply to a ravenous demand of contraband during Prohibition. Cuba was prime real estate for adding diversity in revenue streams. Thomas Hunt, publisher of organised crime history journal *Informer*, sums up the mob's Prohibition mindset: "The presence of travellers with plenty of money and a desire for excitement and experiences deemed illicit at home was certainly viewed as a great opportunity for underworld figures."

Much of what's been revealed about organised crime's presence in pre-Castro Cuba originated by piecing together official documents kept by government agencies (FBI, FBN, State Department, etc), travel logs (ship and air manifests) and the accounts of investigative reporters. In a few instances even the mobsters themselves divulged their insights, albeit rare and



Frank Sinatra's war with the press intensified in 1947 when headlines exposed his presence in Havana, allegedly mixing with known gangsters

often self-serving. It should also be noted: none of the respective sources are 100 percent accurate – the Feds had an agenda, the press had some bias, travel logs are basically impartial but can't account for any surreptitious trips or false documentation.

Gangsters hailing from all over the continental United States visited Cuba. A veritable who's who of gangland lords with ties to Cuba have been documented, including Tampa's Santo Trafficante Jr., New York's Meyer and Jake Lansky, Frank Costello, Frank Erickson, Phil Kastel, Vincent Alo, the Chicago Outfit's Ralph Capone and the Fischetti brothers, former globetrotting drug trafficker George Uffner, the Murder Inc. co-founding Benjamin 'Bugsy' Siegel and recognised top dog himself – Salvatore Lucania, aka Charles 'Lucky' Luciano.

Prohibition's end in 1933 didn't disrupt the mob's business because they already diversified into the narcotic, gambling and sex trafficking rackets. The path for gangsters to expand investments in Cuba (more specifically its capital Havana) is often attributed during the reign of Fulgencio Batista, beginning in 1933. After staging a successful coup against then-president Grau, Batista pulled the government strings largely from behind the scenes at the time, controlling a series of installed presidents.

ABOVE Rigged games are bad publicity for any gambling establishment, so Cuban officials welcomed the honest practices of mobster Meyer Lansky

RIGHT Cuban dictator Fulgencio Batista, who was overthrown by rebels in 1959

Then, in 1940, Batista stepped into the forefront, campaigning for and winning the presidential election. Even after Batista's four-year term ended, the criminal factions were generally unfettered until the onset of World War II, which obviously interrupted commerce and tourism on a global scale.

POST-WAR SENSATIONALISM

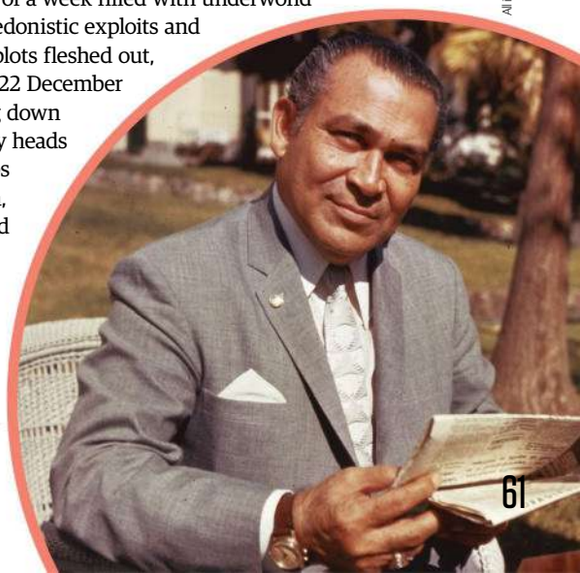
The agency most attuned to mob activities during this period was the Federal Bureau of Narcotics, which fell under the Department of the Treasury. Harry J Anslinger served as its chief for decades and played the cat and mouse game decidedly differently from his counterparts in the FBI. While neither Anslinger nor the FBI chief J Edgar Hoover explicitly used the word 'mafia' during that period, Hoover's policy was to basically deny the actual existence of a 'mafia' (note: 'mob' is the broad term for the larger alliance of multi-ethnic gangs, e.g. Italian, Jewish, Irish, etc, whereas 'mafia' specifically denotes the faction of Italian extraction gangs). Further distinctions between the two entities included the FBN's street-level insurgency and surveillance tactics, i.e. blending in, whereas the FBI maintained a more polished appearance and by-the-book modus operandi, at least on the surface. Both agencies kept 'secret' records and dossiers. The FBN's databank included a detailed 'black list' of suspected traffickers, which documented underworld alliances, ethnic subsets and broadly outlined the 'organisational' groupings of suspects.

One such individual on the FBN's watch list was exiled Charles 'Lucky' Luciano. After serving just a little over nine years of a 30 to 50 year term, Luciano's sentence was commuted in 1946 – with the stipulation he be deported to Italy and not set foot in the United States. The FBN suspected Luciano would scheme his way back to the Americas and they were right, although not yet aware of it (apparently the agency lost track of him for several months). Luciano secured a passport and visas for a late October trip overseas – final destination Cuba. His arrangements were purportedly assisted by efforts of several Cuban officials with gambling interests, namely Dr. Indalecio Pertierra, Carlos Miranda and Senator Eduardo Suarez Rivas.

Luciano's life in Havana remained under the radar from October 1946 through early February 1947. Then, on 11 February, America's heartthrob Frank Sinatra arrived in Havana with three of his friends – Chicago gangsters Joe, Rocco and Charlie Fischetti. The event soon turned into international intrigue (Sinatra scandal), which in turn systematically spelled the downfall of the mob's most infamous leader (Luciano eventually got deported) and created the foundation for a tale of mythical proportions that has been widely accepted as canon... the mob's Havana convention.

A GRAND SUMMIT

The story tells of a week filled with underworld assemblage, hedonistic exploits and assassination plots fleshed out, that began on 22 December 1946. Breaking down the facts, many heads of crime groups visited Havana, the mafiosi and the top people from the Jewish mob. This is all documented and verified. Also true,

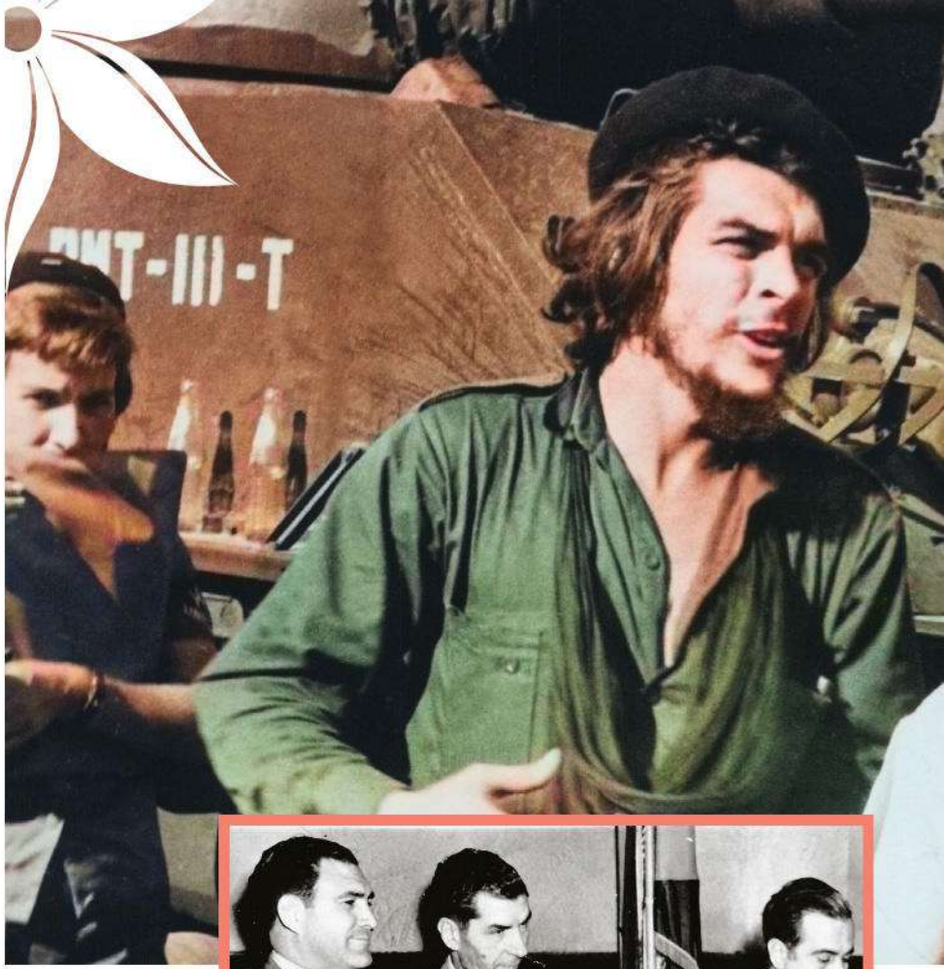


All images: © Christian Cipolini, © GettyImages

many of them personally visited with Lucky Luciano, on different dates, and rarely in groups larger than two or three. History has shown that the normally secretive nature and aversion tactics of the mob have, on occasion, been carelessly unheeded or ignored by even the most astute mobsters. So-called 'mob summits' where bosses convene and collude together in large groups are uncommon, yet have certainly been documented (the 1929 Atlantic City meeting is still hotly debated, but the almost comical folly of scattering mafiosi during a raid on a 1958 meeting in Apalachin, New York made headlines worldwide). Nevertheless, the tales of a big congregation in Cuba has detractors, and for good reason.

"The growing list of underworld figures who met with Luciano in Havana and the tale of the 'wild party' seemed to merge over time," says Thomas Hunt. "Official travel records established December of 1946 as the time of brief Havana visits by US mafiosi in small numbers. Frank Costello and Meyer Lansky went for a couple of days at the start of the month; Joe Adonis and Vincent Alo went about a week later; Moretti, Mangano and Catena visited in the middle of December." He says the "incremental variations" to the story started gaining momentum just prior to a major turning point in organised crime investigation, "though the visit of the Fischettis and Sinatra certainly occurred in February 1947, their visit and the entire fabricated convention was moved back in time to late 1946," adding, "It's tough to see how this made sense to anyone." Hunt theorises the development of a composite or blended version of dates and facts may have been to accommodate the hearings. (Hunt also refers to claims made in the 2011 memoir of Bill Bonanno, son of the mafia boss Joe Bonanno. In the book, Bonanno confirms a meeting in December 1946, where the subject of Luciano's future role and the dilemma with Bugsy Siegel's Las Vegas project were discussed, but states the small enclave met on mobster Willie Moretti's yacht, docked in Miami.)

Over time, says Hunt, all the manipulated writings, recollections and variants from 1947 to 1966 eventually came full circle. "It turned out that was just the foundation for the complex and detailed fabrication published a decade later in *The Last Testament of Lucky Luciano*." The 1975 bestselling release remains one of, if not the most contested, challenged and controversial mob-related books ever written.

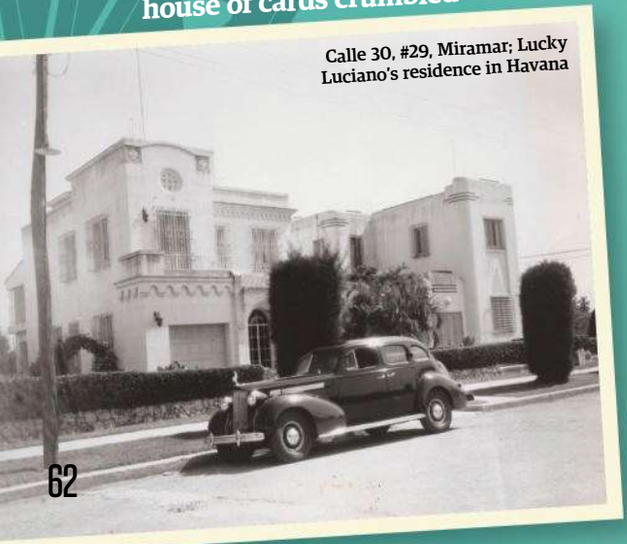


ABOVE December 1958, a rebel faction led by Ernesto 'Che' Guevara defeated the Cuban army in Santa Clara, which effectively spelled the end of Fulgencio Batista's reign

RIGHT Shortly after his arrest in Havana, Lucky Luciano (centre) appears before the press with Chief of Secret Police Benito Herrera (left) and Interior Minister Alfredo Pequeno (right)

UNLUCKY STREAK

How Lucky Luciano's Havana house of cards crumbled



Calle 30, #29, Miramar; Lucky Luciano's residence in Havana

Lucky Luciano quietly entered Cuba in October 1946 and moved into an upscale Miramar neighbourhood. Cuban officials, some in collusion, were very much aware of Luciano's presence. Things went smooth until February 1947 when a burgeoning columnist named Robert Ruark heard an infamous American gangster living it up in Havana's night life. Ruark, who in later years admitted as much, knew immediately the scoop could be life-changing. Ironically though, Ruark wasn't even sure he could positively recognise the mobster, so he asked around, finally landing on Connie Immerman – a guy who knew everyone. Probably with no maligned thought whatsoever, Immerman simply pointed out which fellow was indeed Lucky. The first (of many) articles written by Ruark about the Luciano-Sinatra intrigue was published in American papers on 20 February 1947 and drew the attention of Narcotics czar Harry Anslinger, who in turn issued a threat (through the press) of embargo on medicinal narcotics to Cuba unless they kicked Luciano out. Factually however, Anslinger (head of the Narcotics Bureau, under the Treasury Department) had no authority to embargo. Declassified State Department memos reveal they didn't even know about Anslinger's threat until Cuban officials voiced frustration and offence to the edict. FBI memos referencing the FBN's records also confirmed "no actual embargo had been placed on shipments of narcotics to Cuba, despite the statements to the contrary..." Nevertheless, the Cuban government conceded for the same reason the United States government didn't publicly disavow Anslinger's bluff – to avoid any more aggravation and potential embarrassment. Luciano was arrested on 22 February at the El Jardin cafe and a month later put aboard the Turkish freighter Bakir to sail back to Italy.

TOP-RIGHT Meyer Lansky (centre), called to the state watchdog committee on 12 Feb 1958 in NY

RIGHT The 1947 assassination of Benjamin 'Bugsy' Siegel produced many theories, one of which suggests the murder was ordered and agreed upon during a purported 'Havana Conference' of top mobsters in Cuba

DECADE OF DECADENCE

Neither the Sinatra scandal nor Lucky Luciano's eventual deportation had much negative effect on the mob or the casinos. However, tourism revenue took a hit when Cuban media began reporting scathing articles about unfair play at the gambling tables. Ironically, it wasn't until after Batista returned to Cuba (via another coup in 1952) and allegedly secured the mob's services that fairness in gambling was established. "Relationships between mobsters like Meyer Lansky and Santo Trafficante Jr. and Batista led to large investment of mob money into hotels and casinos, as well as the underground economy, especially prostitution and sex tourism," Scott Deitche says. "So, in reality, the Mafia era of Cuba depicted in popular culture was really less than a decade long."

From 1953 to 1958 the mob seemed to have it pretty good in Havana. "They had a legal gambling empire," Deitche explains. "But the advantage of Havana was that they were out of the US and working with a friendly, and very corrupt, government under Batista." The political corruption that helped make the mob's business practices in Cuba possible also carried an air of unpredictability. Even the best odds analysers in the underworld could not be sure their exotic empire would exist in perpetuity. Batista had devolved into full-scale dictator in just a few short years following the coup d'etat; he and the mob profited greatly while the country's economic gap between wealth and poverty widened. As such, Fidel Castro's revolution may or may not have been taken seriously by gangland investors, but a disenfranchised population was rapidly buying into the rebel rhetoric.

The extent of mob influence on Cuban policy has, however, also come into question as recently as 2020 with the writings of Frank Argote-Freyre. In his book *Cuban Studies*, the subsection 'The Myth of Mafia Rule in 1950s Cuba' acknowledges the presence, saying, "US mobsters did frequent Havana during this period," but states the research never demonstrates the mob had any overreaching power within the Batista regime. "The notion that several gangsters from the United States dominated the island in the prerevolutionary era is a classic case of historiographical imperialism," he writes, adding, "It is a mythology based on exaggerated autobiographical mobster accounts and the scholarship on tourism that has accepted the mobster accounts as factual." The assertion of overhyped history is valid. However, the references cited specifically regarding Lansky and Luciano's relationship (or lack thereof) with political figures relies heavily on CIA and FBI reports, with no mention of the FBN's files. This is problematic because the FBN, notwithstanding its own tunnel vision and agenda, arguably produced the most relevant and real-time documentation of the mob's activities in Havana. The FBI, at that time, had a very different focus of interest in Cuba. Moreover, when the FBI did mention the mob's alleged political allies in Cuba, it was highly redacted and largely relied on cited and paraphrased information plucked from original FBN sources.

> "THE EXTENT OF MOB INFLUENCE ON CUBAN POLICY HAS, HOWEVER, ALSO COME INTO QUESTION"

All arguments aside, an undeniable fact was about to crash everyone's party. The Revolution had reached Havana's proverbial doorstep. In late December 1958, 300km away from Havana, a rebel column led by Ernesto 'Che' Guevara defeated the army (that outnumbered the rebels nearly 10 to 1) in Santa Clara. Batista resigned to an inevitable fate upon hearing the news – Havana was next to fall. On 31 December, Batista fled the island with an entourage of family, friends and millions of dollars. With no commander in chief, the military collapsed. Fidel Castro entered Havana with ease on 8 January 1959. Some accounts of what happened to the casinos in the immediate thereafter are conflicting. In the celebration (or melee) that ensued in Havana, some rebels took up quarters in the hotels, some of the hotels were indeed vandalised, but all tourist-related activities were certainly interrupted. Castro did in fact close down the hotels, briefly, but many of the Cubans who formerly worked in the establishments were suddenly unemployed and the stress of rapidly declining tourism revenue gave Castro a change of heart. The casinos were reopened in February – with stipulations, e.g. Cubans couldn't be clientele unless able to prove sufficient wealth, but even that edict lapsed. According to the 2 March 1959 *TIME Magazine* report, the mob was back in business at the Comodoro and Sans Souci, and "None of the mob makes a move without consulting Miami's Meyer Lansky."

It was rumoured Meyer Lansky exited the island days before the rebels arrived, as did many American tourists and business executives. "Santo Trafficante Jr. stayed to see how things would play out," says Scott Deitche. "Trafficante was jailed for a time by Castro, though even after he was released in August of 1959, he stayed in Cuba until Nov 1959." By 1960 the State had taken much of the private sector's holdings, including the casinos, effectively ending the mob's Cuban paradise. Castro proudly touted his ousting of outlaws in a speech on 31 August 1960:

"When our revolution came to power, these gangsters ran abroad and they started operating against us in several countries. Now again they think that they are safe; they have forgotten what happened to them in Cuba; they still think that the power of the empire will never end."

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The USS St Louis is engulfed in flames and smoke after being hit by a Japanese kamikaze plane during the Battle of Leyte Gulf

© Getty Images

Greatest Battles

BATTLE OF LEYTE GULF

PACIFIC OCEAN OFF THE PHILIPPINES, 23-26 OCT 1944

Written by Michael E Haskew

The Battle of Leyte Gulf was a major naval engagement fought between 23-26 October 1944 across a wide expanse of the Pacific Ocean near the Philippine Islands. One of the decisive naval battles of World War II in the Pacific, it was actually a series of engagements, collectively recognised as the largest naval battle in history. After US forces mounted an invasion of the island of Leyte, the Japanese devised a complex plan of attack, hoping to destroy the US transports and escort ships that were landing and providing logistical support to American troops.

The Leyte landings marked the return of American forces to the Philippines and their initial step in liberating the islands from Japanese occupation. The US Navy narrowly avoided catastrophe when heavy Japanese warships engaged

Loading drop tanks on Curtiss Helldivers aboard USS Lexington (CV-16) before a search mission, 25 October 1944

© Alamy

Yamato hit by a bomb near her forward gun turret in the Sibuyan Sea, 24 October 1944

Image source: wiki/U.S. Navy photo 80-G-325932

a light screening force near the American landing beaches and managed to inflict a decisive defeat on the Imperial Japanese Navy.

BACKGROUND

In the summer of 1944, US commanders looked to continue their steady approach to the Japanese home islands. General Douglas MacArthur, evacuated from the Philippines more than two years earlier, convinced President Franklin D Roosevelt that the US had an obligation to the Filipino people to liberate them from Japanese occupation and had pledged "I shall return!" when he'd relocated to Australia from the islands in the spring of 1942.

For American war planners, the liberation of the Philippines would sever Japanese supply lines to occupied territories in the East Indies. In addition, it would provide bases for further offensive operations against Japan itself.

In October 1944, MacArthur made good on his promise, wading ashore on the Philippine island of Leyte. As American ground troops landed on the beaches and engaged the Japanese defenders, the largest naval fight of the war developed in the waters around the Philippines. The Japanese naval high command envisioned Operation Sho-Go, an attempt to destroy the American naval support force in the Leyte area. Sho-Go was a complex endeavour involving a pincer movement to attack the American shipping off Leyte while also luring the fast battleships and fleet aircraft carriers under Admiral William F 'Bull' Halsey far to the north, where the bulk of the US Third Fleet would be too far away to intervene in the Japanese strike.

The success of Operation Sho-Go depended on the ability of the Northern, or Decoy Force, under Admiral Jisaburo Ozawa, to entice Halsey northward from the San Bernardino Strait toward Cape Engaño (the English translation of 'Engaño' is, appropriately, 'lure' or 'hoax'). These had been rendered fairly useless as offensive weapons due to a dearth of aircraft and trained pilots. As Halsey moved away from the Leyte invasion beaches in pursuit of Ozawa, the Japanese correctly believed that only a light screening force would remain.

Halsey's aggressive nature and his burning desire to bring about a decisive surface engagement with his fast Iowa-class battleships, as well as the long-awaited opportunity to destroy the remaining Japanese aircraft carriers, would be too much to resist. With the threat of Halsey's

A US sailor is treated for wounds after a Japanese aerial attack

A young Filipino boy pictured with an American bulldozer operator of the 64th Seabees (United States Naval Construction Forces)

firepower diminished, other Japanese naval forces would spring a devastating trap on the vulnerable American supply ships and troop transports off Leyte, guarded only by the small escort carriers, destroyers and destroyer escorts of Admiral Thomas C Kinkaid's Seventh Fleet.

To exploit the deception, three Japanese task forces would converge on the invasion area: Admiral Takeo Kurita would lead a foray with the Center Force through the Sibuyan Sea and San Bernardino Strait while Admirals Shoji Nishimura and Kiyohide Shima would command elements of the Southern Force, advancing through the Mindanao Sea and Surigao Strait. If the movements succeeded, then the Japanese warships coming together off Leyte would find themselves the 'hawk among chickens' and inflict terrible damage.

The American landings on Leyte occurred 20 October 1944, putting more than 130,000 soldiers of the US Sixth Army ashore against light resistance as the defenders chose to marshal their resources for a prolonged battle toward the interior of the island. The Japanese naval high command responded by activating Sho-Go.

PRELUDE IN THE SIBUYAN AND SULU SEAS

After departing Brunei, Kurita's powerful Center Force was observed transiting the Palawan Passage by the US submarines Darter and Dace on 23 October. The next morning, the submarines attacked, sinking the Japanese cruisers Atago and Maya and damaging a third, Takao. Darter ran aground a short time later, and her crew was rescued by Dace.

As the day wore on, Kurita came under attack in the Sibuyan Sea by dive bombers and torpedo planes from Halsey's Third Fleet aircraft carriers, and the Center Force had no protective air cover of its own. Planes from the American carriers Lexington, Essex, Intrepid, Enterprise, Franklin and Cabot flew 259 sorties, and the Japanese super battleships Yamato and Musashi, behemoths mounting huge 18-inch main batteries, were large targets. Musashi was assailed by swarms of American planes and took hits from 17 bombs and 19 torpedoes before sinking. Yamato took three bombs and was down by the bow when the American planes departed.

On the same day, however, Japanese planes based in the Philippines attacked the American fleet off the island of Luzon. A single Yokosuka D4Y 'Judy' dive bomber managed to evade combat air patrol fighters and anti-aircraft fire from the US escort ships and dropped one 550lb (250kg) bomb on the light carrier USS Princeton. The bomb penetrated both the flight and hangar decks before exploding. Late in the afternoon, Princeton was wracked by an internal explosion and the light cruiser USS Birmingham, rendering assistance at the time, was heavily damaged. The effort to save Princeton proved futile and the carrier was scuttled.

THE NORTHERN FORCE SUCCEEDS

Despite significant losses, Kurita retired briefly to regroup and assess the damage. Undeterred, he subsequently changed course and pressed on toward San Bernardino Strait and the Leyte invasion beaches. Meanwhile the Northern Force, under Ozawa, steamed toward Cape Engaño. Reports of Kurita's temporary retirement indicated that the Center Force was out of the battle, but that conclusion was premature. When Halsey was alerted to its location on 24 October, he set off in hot pursuit.

Based on earlier communications, Kinkaid assumed that Task Force 34, including the fast battleships under Admiral Willis Lee, had been formed and would remain on the northern shoulder of the invasion beaches to provide cover against any continuing Japanese surface threat.

USS Claxton puts up anti-aircraft fire as smoke rises from the burning and sinking USS Abner Read

3x © Getty Images

His interpretation was incorrect. Task Force 34 had not been dispatched, and Lee's battleships were steaming north with the rest of Halsey's fleet.

BATTLE OF SURIGAO STRAIT

The Japanese Southern Force was spotted in the Sulu Sea early on 25 October and Kinkaid, assuming Halsey had left the fast battleships on station, ordered the old battleships and cruisers of the Seventh Fleet shore bombardment force under Admiral Jesse Oldendorf to intercept the enemy task forces in Surigao Strait. Oldendorf organised an ambush, arraying his PT-boats and destroyers on each flank to harass the Japanese as they sailed northward through the strait and placing his cruisers and battleships in line across the waterway to execute the classic manoeuvre of crossing the enemy's 'T'. Such a strong firing position allowed Oldendorf's warships, including cruisers and destroyers of the Royal Australian Navy, to fire full broadsides from main batteries while the Japanese would be only able to reply with their forward guns.

The formidable US firing line included the battleships Tennessee, Maryland, California, Pennsylvania and West Virginia, all damaged during the Japanese attack at Pearl Harbor, repaired and returned to action. They were joined by the battleship Mississippi.

As Nishimura sailed into Surigao Strait, the PT-boats and destroyers assailed his force. The battleship Yamashiro, Nishimura's flagship, was struck by a destroyer's torpedo, blew up and sank. Three destroyers were also sent to the bottom of the Pacific. Nishimura later died; however, his squadron pressed on toward near annihilation. In the ensuing one-sided fight, the battleship Fuso was devastated and sank in a hail of American shells. The heavy cruiser Mogami was seriously damaged and later scuttled. Only a single Japanese destroyer survived the onslaught.

Soon enough, Shima's task force began its fateful transit of Surigao Strait. Again, the US PT-boats attacked and a torpedo struck the light cruiser Abukuma, causing the ship to lag behind the formation. Abukuma was sunk by American aircraft within hours. When Shima encountered the blazing hulks of Nishimura's shattered force, he ordered a withdrawal. The southern pincer of the Japanese offensive against the Leyte beaches had been broken.

BATTLE OFF SAMAR

When Halsey impetuously sped northward toward Ozawa's Decoy Force – and Kinkaid ordered the Seventh Fleet bombardment force to Surigao Strait – he left only three escort carrier groups to protect the Leyte invasion beaches. These groups, designated Taffy 1, 2 and 3, consisted only of small escort or 'jeep' carriers, destroyers and destroyer

UNITED STATES AND AUSTRALIA

WILLIAM HALSEY JR

Halsey is one of four officers who attained the rank of five-star fleet admiral, a role he performed for the United States in WWII. He started the war off in the Pacific commanding a task force from the USS Enterprise. He was made commander of Allied forces in the region from 1942. His service saw him promoted to fleet admiral in 1945 and he retired in 1947.

Image source: wiki/Naval Historical Center

THOMAS C KINKAID

Commanding an Allied fleet at the Battle of Leyte Gulf, Kinkaid was at the heart of the action. He had a reputation as a 'fighting admiral', so perhaps that was to be expected. After Leyte Gulf he commanded ships in the last naval battle between battleships, the Battle of the Surigao Strait. He moved to New York post-war and retired in 1950.

CLIFTON SPRAGUE

Pivotal to the Battle of Leyte Gulf was the Battle off Samar on 25 October and at its centre was Sprague, who fended off 23 Japanese ships (including battleships and heavy cruisers) with only 13 of his own (consisting of escort carriers, destroyers and destroyer escorts). He later provided support for the invasion of Iwo Jima. He retired in 1951.

EMPIRE OF JAPAN

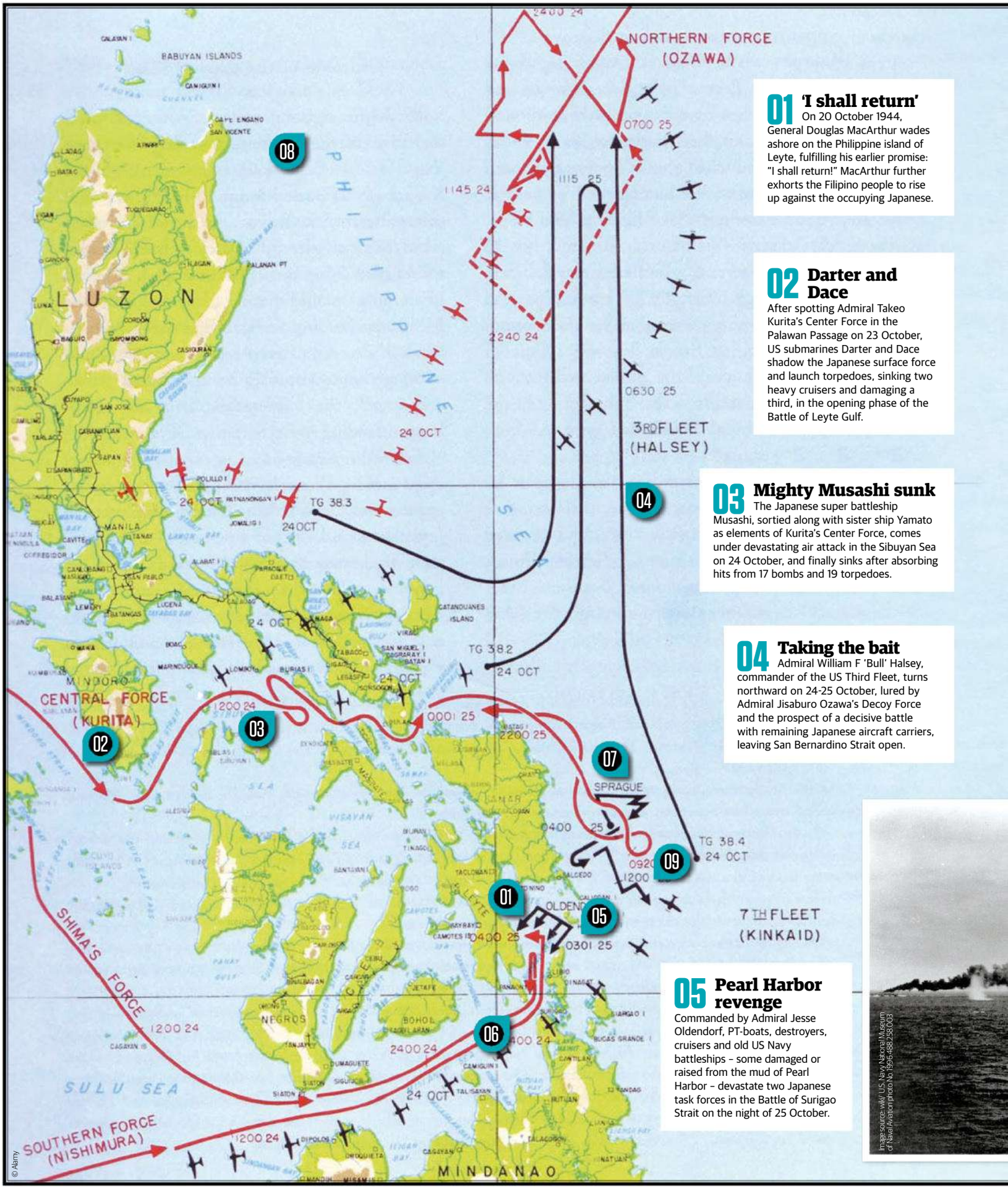
TAKEO KURITA

Kurita was commander-in-chief of the IJN 2nd fleet at Leyte Gulf and had at his command the most heavily armed battleships in the world at that time. However, he is reported to have had misgivings about his orders to take on the Americans, thinking it a waste of resources. He was relieved of command and reassigned to the naval academy. Post-war he lived a quiet life with his family.

4x © Getty Images

JISABURŌ OZAWA

Tasked with acting as a decoy to lure out the Americans, Vice-Admiral Ozawa's force was able to draw out Halsey from the San Bernardino Strait prior to the battle. Chasing down Ozawa proved to be a controversial move for Halsey, but he hadn't believed the decoy reports he was getting. Reflecting on the battle, Ozawa said he felt defeat marked the end for Japan's war effort.



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01 'I shall return'

On 20 October 1944, General Douglas MacArthur wades ashore on the Philippine island of Leyte, fulfilling his earlier promise: "I shall return!" MacArthur further exhorts the Filipino people to rise up against the occupying Japanese.

02 Darter and Dace

After spotting Admiral Takeo Kurita's Center Force in the Palawan Passage on 23 October, US submarines Darter and Dace shadow the Japanese surface force and launch torpedoes, sinking two heavy cruisers and damaging a third, in the opening phase of the Battle of Leyte Gulf.

03 Mighty Musashi sunk

The Japanese super battleship Musashi, sortied along with sister ship Yamato as elements of Kurita's Center Force, comes under devastating air attack in the Sibuyan Sea on 24 October, and finally sinks after absorbing hits from 17 bombs and 19 torpedoes.

04 Taking the bait

Admiral William F 'Bull' Halsey, commander of the US Third Fleet, turns northward on 24-25 October, lured by Admiral Jisaburo Ozawa's Decoy Force and the prospect of a decisive battle with remaining Japanese aircraft carriers, leaving San Bernardino Strait open.

05 Pearl Harbor revenge

Commanded by Admiral Jesse Oldendorf, PT-boats, destroyers, cruisers and old US Navy battleships – some damaged or raised from the mud of Pearl Harbor – devastate two Japanese task forces in the Battle of Surigao Strait on the night of 25 October.

Image source: wiki/ U.S. Navy, National Museum of Naval Aviation photo No. 1995.488.258.003

06 Rudder difficulties

A Japanese destroyer, lone survivor of the decimated first task force entering Surigao Strait on 25 October, fails to warn the second task force of the US firepower waiting just ahead, signalling only: "I am Shigure; I have rudder difficulties."

07 Pagoda masts

As Kurita's Center Force bears down on the Leyte beaches on 25 October, an American pilot confirms for Admiral Clifton AF Sprague that the ships he sees are Japanese, identifying their "pagoda masts". Moments later, the Battle off Samar erupts.

08 The world wonders

Wording meant to pad an inquiry from Admiral Chester Nimitz is interpreted as a rebuke by Halsey off Cape Engaño when he reads: "...where is rpt where is task force 34 rr the world wonders" and Halsey reacts with dismay.

"...WHERE IS RPT WHERE IS TASK FORCE 34 RR THE WORLD WONDERS"

09 Lingering Leyte lament

In the middle of a great US victory, controversy emerges as to Halsey's tactical command decisions. Debate continues regarding the series of events that led to the ordeal and triumph of Taffy 3 during the Battle off Samar.

US destroyers and escorts lay a smoke screen during the Battle off Samar, 25 October

escorts. Their primary missions were to conduct anti-submarine patrols and provide direct aerial support to the ground troops on the island. The largest gun aboard any of these ships was the standard five-incher (127mm).

Taffy 3 was under the command of Admiral Clifton AF Sprague and consisted of six escort carriers, three destroyers and four destroyer escorts. Just after 6:30am on 25 October 1944 an ominous report reached Sprague. The pilot of a Grumman TBF Avenger torpedo plane on patrol had spotted a number of ships near the exit from San Bernardino Strait. He expected these vessels to belong to Halsey's battle group. However, on closer inspection it was Kurita's Center Force. At its heart was Yamato, damaged in the Sibuyan Sea but still quite capable of devastating Taffy 3. There were other Japanese battleships and cruisers steaming ahead with destroyers in the vanguard.

Sprague's escort carriers were too slow to outrun the Japanese, so there was no alternative but to stand and fight. The ensuing Battle off Samar remains one of the most stirring chapters in the history of the US Navy. Sprague ordered his small warships to make smoke, and torpedo attacks were organised against the Japanese battleships and cruisers. The destroyers Johnston, Heermann and Hoel rushed forward, firing away with their five-inch guns. A torpedo from Johnston blew the bow off the Japanese heavy cruiser Kumano, and the little destroyer scored numerous hits with its main batteries. On more than one occasion, heavy Japanese warships were caught in the crossfire of two destroyers, and in the chaotic contest there may well have been incidents of friendly fire.

Torpedoes from either Hoel or Heermann forced Yamato to take evasive action, running northward and taking Admiral Kurita temporarily away from the combat area. All the while, American aircraft harassed the Center Force, some pilots executing dummy runs when their ordnance had been expended, to distract the Japanese gunners. Fighter planes exhausted their .50-calibre machine gun ammunition in strafing runs on the superstructures of Japanese ships. One aircraft dropped depth charges on a Japanese destroyer.

At the same time, the escort carriers were chased by salvoes from the big Japanese guns and made for a rain squall, which provided some cover. The Japanese crews had difficulty locking on to their targets amid the smoke. Their fire control was inadequate, while the Americans were operating the Mark 37 gun fire-control system, enabling the destroyers to maintain accuracy and a steady rate of fire once a target was acquired. As the battle wore on, the ferocity of the Taffy 3 resistance convinced Kurita that he was facing US cruisers and battleships as well as Halsey's fleet carriers. The Japanese cruisers Suzuya, Chokai and Chikuma were sunk, and Kumano was seriously damaged.

When the Japanese gunners found the range, the gallant American destroyers paid a heavy price. Johnston and Hoel were sunk. The destroyer escort Samuel B Roberts also went down after slugging it out with the heavier Japanese ships.

The escort carriers suffered as well. Some large-calibre Japanese shells passed through their thin armour plating without exploding, but Gambier Bay was assailed by several cruisers and sank, the only US carrier lost to gunfire from surface ships in WWII. Kalinin Bay took 15 direct hits but survived. St Lo was sunk when a Japanese kamikaze suicide plane crashed into its flight deck.

Kurita was concerned that his force had sustained considerable damage and was unaware of whether Ozawa's Decoy Force had succeeded in its mission to lure Halsey away from San Bernardino Strait. Amid the confusion – and with victory in his grasp – Kurita ordered a general retirement.

Halsey detached some heavy forces toward San Bernardino Strait but they did not participate in the primary action off Samar. Meanwhile, his carrier-based aircraft pummeled Ozawa, sinking four aircraft carriers and decimating the Decoy Force. Among the Japanese aircraft carriers sent to watery graves was Zuikaku, the last survivor of the carrier force that had attacked Pearl Harbor.

Although Kurita's Center Force had turned away, questions persisted. Could the sacrifice of Taffy 3 have been averted and an even greater defeat inflicted on the Japanese?

AFTERMATH

In the end, the Battle of Leyte Gulf was a resounding US victory. The offensive capability of the Imperial Japanese Navy was destroyed and American operations on land, sea and air in the Philippines would continue without pause. The next major Imperial Navy sortie would occur in the spring of 1945 during the battle for Okinawa. It was a one-way suicide mission, and the great Yamato met its demise in a hail of bombs and torpedoes from American carrier planes.

Despite the result, the Battle of Leyte Gulf had been a near-run thing. It was the heroism of the US Navy's 'small boys' that saved the day off Samar and preserved the victory. The Japanese offensive had failed and the Imperial Navy lost four carriers, three battleships, six heavy cruisers, four light cruisers, 11 destroyers, 300 aircraft and more than 12,000 casualties. The US Navy suffered the loss of the light carrier Princeton, the escort carriers Gambier Bay and Kitkun Bay, the destroyers Johnston and Hoel, the destroyer escort Samuel B Roberts, 255 planes and 3,000 men killed or wounded.

In the immediate aftermath of the Battle of Leyte Gulf and the decades since, Halsey has been criticised for his tactical actions. However, an absence of unified command among the naval forces contributed to the confusion.

The heroism of Sprague and the sailors of Taffy 3 proved there is no substitute for devotion to duty and willing sacrifice in the face of daunting odds. The fierce debate surrounding Halsey's command decisions at the Battle of Leyte Gulf persists to this day, but the victory of the US Navy is undisputed.

What If...

GRANADA HAD NOT SURRENDERED?

A sophisticated centre for culture and learning that could challenge and change the face of Europe forever

Interview by David J Williamson

INTERVIEW WITH

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DR ELIZABETH DRAYSON

Elizabeth is Emeritus Fellow in Spanish at Murray Edwards College, University of Cambridge, specialising in Medieval and early modern Spanish cultural history. Author of bestselling *The Moor's Last Stand: How Seven Centuries of Muslim Rule in Spain Came to an End*. Her latest book, *Lost Paradise: The Story of Granada*, was published by Head of Zeus (Apollo) in July 2021.

Over centuries of war, betrayal, family infighting, and political manoeuvring, the Islamic stronghold on the doorstep of Christian Europe had gradually eroded. For almost 800 years the rich and refined influence of Islamic culture, architecture, customs, and law had run through the veins of life on the mainland of Europe in the Iberian Peninsula. But Islam had proven an uncomfortable neighbour for Christian Europe, and by 1492 the Christian powers were in the ascendency, determined to retake the land they believed to be theirs. And now, only Granada, magnificent in dignified isolation, stood in their way.

What would have needed to change within Granada for it to have remained strong and defiant?

The Nasrid emirate of Granada was victim of its own disunity. It was weakened by the almost constant rivalries, feuding and violence within the royal family itself that had gone on for centuries.

The last Nasrid sultan, the diplomatic and tolerant Muhammad XI, known as Boabdil, was at war with both his belligerent father sultan Abu l'Hasan and his ambitious uncle El Zagal, all contenders for the throne in the final decade of the emirate from 1482-92. Their power struggles spilled over into the city streets, where they and their followers fought bloody pitched battles. The deep rift between Boabdil, who was legitimate heir to the Nasrid throne, and his father arose because the latter abandoned his wife Aixa, mother of Boabdil, and said to be descended from the Prophet Muhammad, for another woman. Abu l'Hasan married Zoraya, a former Christian slave girl captured by the Nasrids, who converted to Islam, and together they had two sons, who threatened Boabdil's right to succeed his father as sultan. Aixa plotted to ensure that her first-born and rightful heir would inherit the Nasrid emirate, pitting father against son. Finally, Boabdil took over the city in a coup during his father's absence and became emir of Granada in July 1482.

For Granada to remain strong and defiant in the face of the threat to the emirate, its rulers would have needed to change the ancient pattern of violent usurpation and conflict that bedevilled their history and present a unified front. Abu l'Hasan and El Zagal would have had to rein in their warlike tendencies in favour of diplomacy and negotiation.

What impact would a defiant Granada have had on the political landscape of Spain in particular, and Europe as a whole?

If we imagine Granada growing in strength and political might, perhaps Queen Isabella I of Castile and her husband Ferdinand II of Aragon would have relinquished their desire to create a country unified by one religion, one

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Main image source: © Alamy

RIGHT
The surrender of Granada by Boabdil has become the stuff of romantic legend

Nice!
All this is yours, dude!
(we'll get those fires put out for you)

THE PAST

711

AN OPPORTUNITY TAKEN

The newly crowned king of the Visigoths, Roderick, was ruler of the Spanish lands. But rebellion was common. Distracted in the North, a raiding party of Berbers from North Africa under the command of Tariq invaded the South. Roderick rushed to confront them and – betrayed by his own side – lost the battle, his crown, and his lands. Tariq's confidence grew and he soon took the city of Toledo. Musa, the Arab governor in Africa soon followed, taking Seville. Spanish lands quickly succumbed to the invaders, only to be repelled in the north by Charles Martel, grandfather of Charlemagne. But now established in the South, the Islamic land of Al-Andalus was born.

756 - 1237

STABILITY AND TURMOIL

In 756 warring family dynasties in Damascus forced Abd al-Rahman to flee for his life. Arriving in Spain he declared himself emir, making his capital in Cordoba. The emirate flourished, the Great Mosque was begun, schools were established, and literature and law blossomed. When Abd al-Rahman III declared himself caliph of Cordoba in 929 there now dawned a century of stability. But turmoil and fragmentation would return, and Christian states at their borders would soon overrun cities like Cordoba and Seville. In 1237 Muhammad I took Granada as his capital.

1492

TEARS OF DEFEAT AND BETRAYAL

Becoming sultan of Granada some ten years previously, Boabdil had fought tooth and nail to secure his position. Danger and betrayal had come from both within his own family and from the neighbouring states. But his strength of character and faith had carried him through and now the fighting was for honour in defeat, and an agreement that would ensure the safety, security and tolerance of his people. Boabdil's tears when handing the keys of Granada over to Ferdinand and Isabella were for what he and his people had lost. But tears would come to be shed again by his people when those promises made were not promises kept.

race and a single political system. They may have decided to concentrate their efforts on expanding their territories north of Granada and outside Spain. The Muslims who left Granada after its Christian conquest in 1492 and converted to Catholicism were known as Moriscos. Those who did not want exile overseas went to live in Christian Spain, many of them living as crypto-Muslims in a climate of fear and secrecy. If Granada had been able to resist the onslaught successfully, Spain and Portugal's Muslim population might have moved or returned there, creating a larger, stronger province and a much smaller Hispanic Muslim diaspora. Heresy would have been seen as less of a threat by the Christians and perhaps the Inquisition would have wielded less power.

From a European perspective, if Granada had held its own and remained as a flourishing Islamic state in western Europe, and if Christian Spain had developed a tolerant, less xenophobic attitude, Muslim territory might have expanded and perhaps a new state could have been formed that was ruled jointly by Christian and Muslim leaders. Spain's fundamental hybridity and the multicultural and multireligious history of Al-Andalus, and of Granada in particular, may have been able to shine as a beacon of light as Europe evolved in later centuries. It could have been seen as a model of peaceful contiguity between Muslim and Christian states.

ABOVE
The Alhambra is a magnificent example of Islamic culture and architecture

BELOW
The success of Granada would have remained a threat to Christian power

BOTTOM
Defeat of the Moors was paramount in Ferdinand and Isabella's plans

What influence on other Muslim states would a defiant and resurgent Granada have had? Would all Muslim states have been automatically supportive if it?

In 1453, almost 40 years before the last Islamic state in western Europe came under Christian dominion, the Ottomans had captured Constantinople, which became the Muslim capital of a vast empire that spanned southeast Europe, western Asia, and north Africa. While the Ottomans may have been broadly supportive of a strong Granada emirate, their western European ambitions were thwarted at the gates of Vienna in 1683. Occupied with multi-continental religious wars, their focus barely turned westwards again, so chances of a fruitful alliance with Granada seem unlikely.

On the other hand, Ottoman power was feared by Christian Spain, as were the Mamluk Turks, with whom King Ferdinand II of Aragon made a temporary alliance against the Ottomans from 1488-91. We might also envisage a scenario where the emirate of Granada became an Ottoman state, to form part of a mighty Islamic empire that could have changed the face of western Europe.

In north Africa, there was great lamentation for the conquest of Granada, which was seen as a lost paradise to the Muslims. Yet the Marinid dynasty of Berber, rulers of Morocco who had tried without success to help the emirate of Granada stand firm against the threat, had been taken over in 1465 by another Berber dynasty, the Wattasids, who were too busy fending off their enemies to lend any support to the Nasrids.

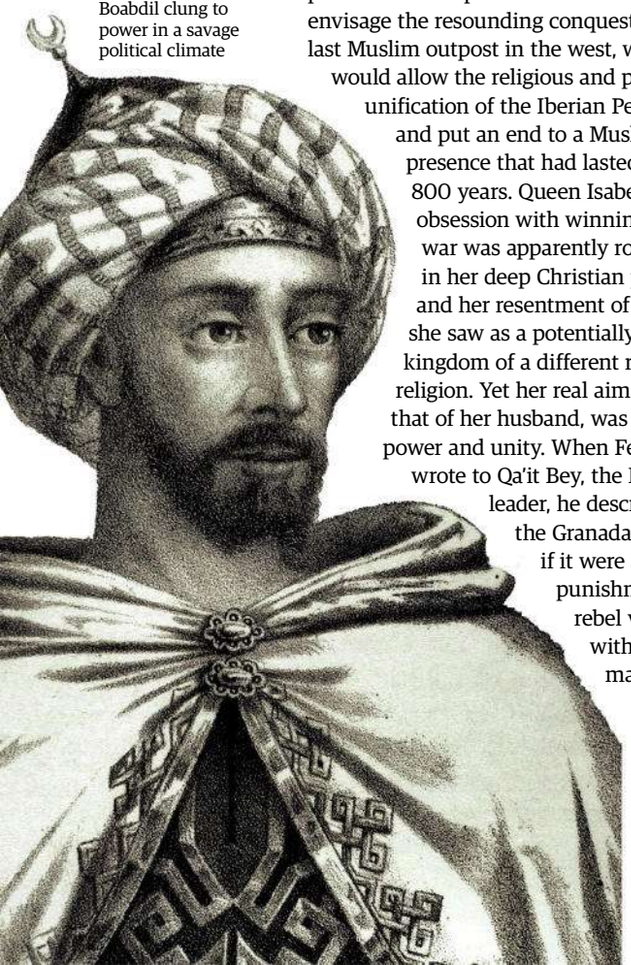
The Nasrids may rightly have felt abandoned by their fellow Muslims abroad, who were benevolent to them in spirit but provided no sustained practical

support. If Granada had been able to resist Christian domination, it is possible that it may have formed strong alliances with north African and even Turkish leaders and become part of a larger Islamic political entity, perhaps acting as an intermediary between the Islamic empire and Europe.

How significant was the Reconquista as a driving force in the unification of Castile and Aragon?

In the last ten years of the Nasrid emirate, up to 1492, the idea of reconquest fuelled the sustained attacks of the Christian armies of Ferdinand and Isabella, whose strategic marriage in 1469 cemented the union of Castile and Aragon to create the most powerful Catholic kingdom in the peninsula. That power enabled them to envisage the resounding conquest of the last Muslim outpost in the west, which would allow the religious and political unification of the Iberian Peninsula and put an end to a Muslim presence that had lasted nearly 800 years. Queen Isabella's obsession with winning the war was apparently rooted in her deep Christian piety and her resentment of what she saw as a potentially hostile kingdom of a different race and religion. Yet her real aim, like that of her husband, was political power and unity. When Ferdinand wrote to Qa'it Bey, the Mamluk leader, he described the Granadan war as if it were a mere punishment for rebel vassals, with only marginal religious motivation, despite its presentation as a crusade against the enemies of the faith by the Christian authorities in Castile. But there is little doubt that along with the desire for money and power that drove the conflict, they also wanted to quell any possibility of Granada's alliance with the Turkish leaders that might have led to a reversal of the Christian reconquest.

BELOW
Boabdil clung to power in a savage political climate



What sorts of compromises would there have to be on both sides if Granada continued to resist Christian conquest successfully?

I think the Christians would have had to make the lion's share of the compromises, and tolerance would have been the key factor. They would have needed to relinquish the idea of unification under Catholicism, develop a more equitable relationship with the Granadan emirate and abandon the imposition of large payments of tribute money to Castile. On the Muslim side, given that Granada was an entirely Arabic-speaking Islamic state with no native Christians, the sultan would have had to accommodate more Christians living in his realms, and follow the path of negotiation and diplomacy encouraged by Boabdil, rather than persist in the pursuit of jihad.

What kind of ambitions could a resurgent Granada have had?

At the very least their ambition would have been to marshal support for a coup against the Christians, if Boabdil had been able to get arms, men, and money, perhaps from north Africa. A greater ambition might have been to join forces with the north African Muslim dynasties as part of a larger political entity, enabling them to reconquer the lands lost in a kind of reverse reconquest. At best, they may have aimed to form an alliance with the Ottomans and spearhead the formal incorporation of Europe into the Islamic empire in the west.

THE POSSIBILITY

16TH CENTURY ONWARDS

A CENTRE OF EXCELLENCE AND LEARNING

Granada had already attracted scholars from around Europe. But it may have grown into so much more and could have been the founding member of a series of great collaborative education and research centres across Europe, funded and run by people of all faiths. On elements such as social spaces, libraries and education, Granada was far ahead of its Christian neighbours and could have led the way in establishing a shared tolerance across all faiths, attracting and supporting the best minds in Europe to collaborate through learning and become a major driving force in literature, philosophy, law, and culture.

16TH CENTURY

TWIN TOWERS OF POWER

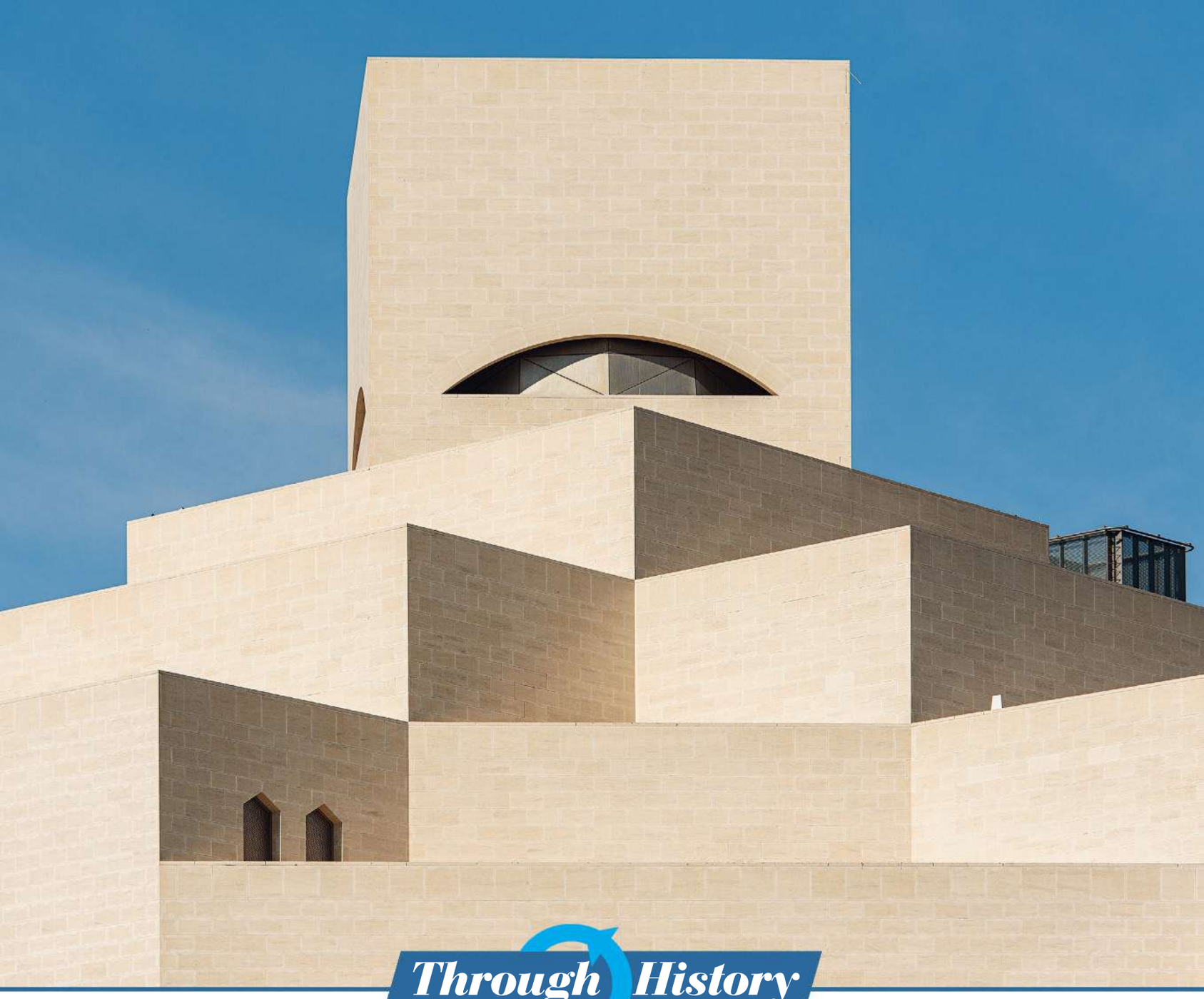
As a seat of power in the Western Mediterranean, Granada could have become part of a powerful axis of Islamic influence, one of the twin poles of an Islamic empire of Europe, along with Constantinople (now Istanbul). Trade along the entire Mediterranean coastline, North, South, East and West, would have been influenced and in some cases controlled by such a powerful alliance. Europeans in some areas would have worn Islamic dress and followed the Islamic dating system, leading to a hugely different future for the continent.

1492

A WHOLE NEW WORLD

Having at last banished Islamic rule from the Iberian Peninsula, the evolving confidence and power of Aragon and Castile turned its focus on the wider world. But had Granada resisted and remained strong, and a potential threat, resources for such expansion may well have remained limited. Sponsorship of Christopher Columbus and his voyage to the New World may have never happened. Alliances with other foreign courts, such as marriage of Katherine of Aragon to the English Tudors, may have been rethought. And Conquistadors may not have crossed the Atlantic to gain the wealth that would fuel the Spanish superpower of the 16th century.

All images: © Alamy



Main image: © Qatar Museums/ Chrysovalantis Lampranidis

Through History

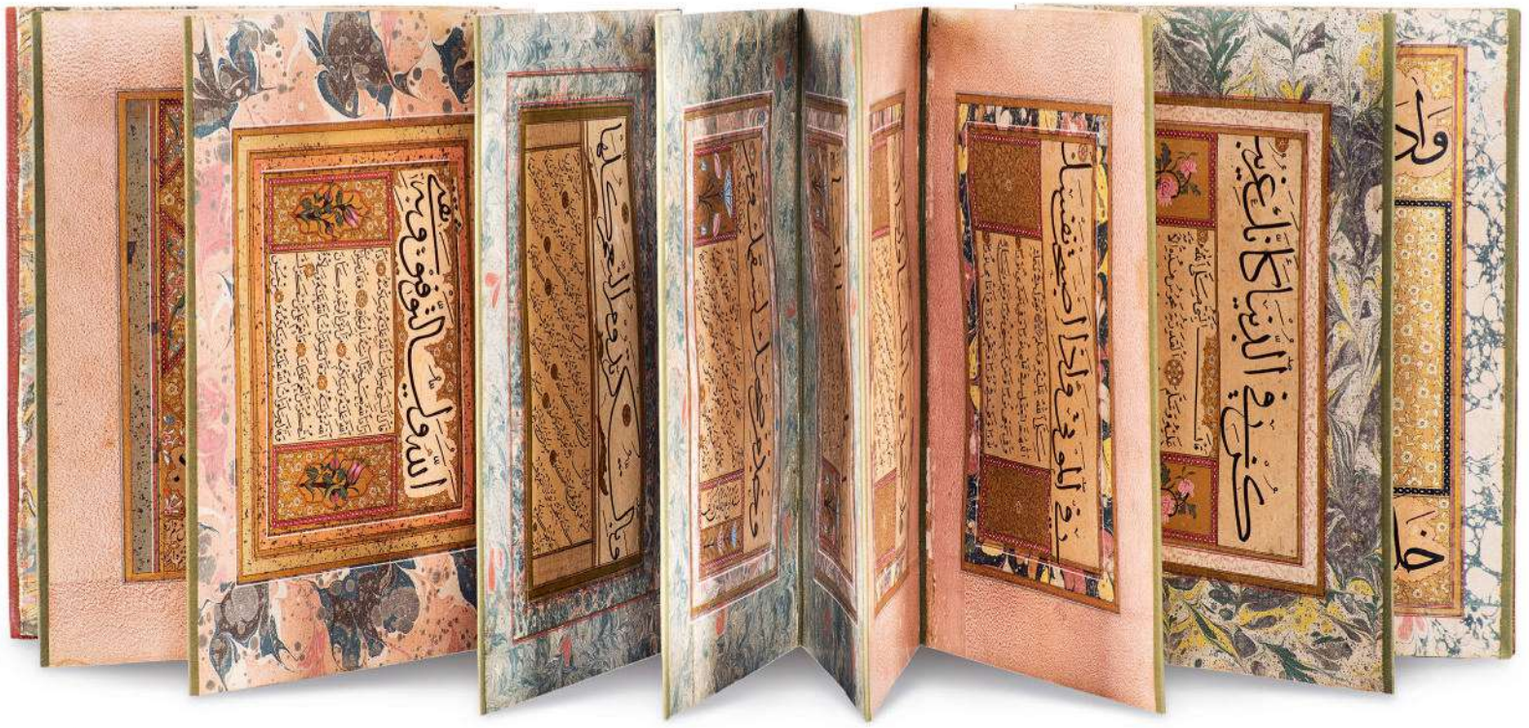
EXPLORING THE ISLAMIC WORLD

A new publication highlights the most magnificent artwork from the Museum of Islamic Art

The Islamic world is home to some of the most splendid artistic traditions in human history, and one of the greatest collections of Islamic art can be found at the Museum of Islamic Art in Doha, Qatar. Now a new book, *Museum of Islamic Art: The Collection*, allows readers to delve into this world-class collection and discover more about the religion's rich cultural traditions.

The iconic museum building was designed by renowned architect IM Pei, who also designed the Louvre Pyramid in Paris and the Rock and Roll Hall of Fame in Cleveland. The Museum of Islamic Art's interior features 18 galleries that are filled with extraordinary examples of art from across the Islamic world, with displays of secular and religious art from Spain to India representing the diversity of Islamic heritage.

This new publication highlights the scope of the museum's contents through 15 essays and 170 catalogue entries, accompanied by new research and stunning images. Published alongside *The Collection* and coinciding with the recent reopening of the museum's renovated galleries is *Museum of Islamic Art: The Guide*, which allows readers to immerse themselves even more fully in the beauty of the collection.



CALLIGRAPHY ALBUM

▲ Dating from 16th-17th century Ottoman Turkey, this type of album was called a muraqqa and would include artwork, poetry, prayers and calligraphy. This muraqqa contains 13 Arabic prayers and four Persian poems written in different languages and calligraphic text.

© Qatar Museums/ Samar Kassab

PLANISPHERIC ASTROLABE

▼ Dating from the Buyid period (945 – 1055), this astrolabe was made by Hamid ibn al-Khidr al-Khujandi, the astronomer at the Rayy court (in present-day Tehran) of Fakhr al-Dawla. Used to calculate the position of the planets and stars, it was one of the most accurate of its time.

© Qatar Museums/ Chrysovalantis Lamprianidis

WAR MASK

◀ Originating from Anatolia, or western Iran, and dating from the late 15th to early 16th century, this mask is one of many of its kind from across western Asia. Masks like this were originally worn as part of cavalry armour.

© Qatar Museums/ Marc Pelletreau

BLUE GLASS FLASK

▼ This gilded blue glass flask is one of a collection of glass pieces. It is believed to date to between the 12th and early 13th century and though its place of origin is unknown, it could possibly have been made in Raqqa, Syria.

© Qatar Museums/ Marc Pelletreau

EMERALD NECKLACE

▲ This beautiful necklace is made up of emeralds, diamonds, pearls and gold and on the reverse is decorated with pink and white enamel flowers. It originates from Varanasi, India, and uses enamel techniques believed to have been introduced to the area by Persian immigrants.

© Qatar Museums/ Samar Kassab

SILK ROAD GARMENT

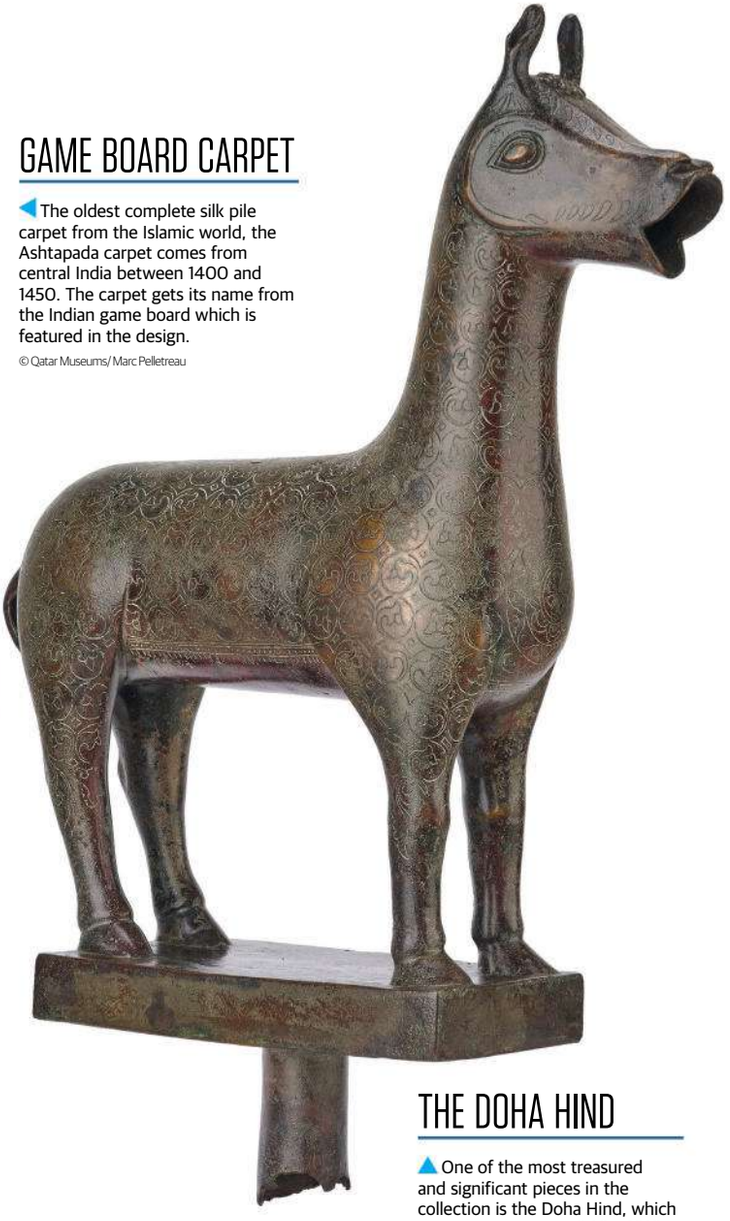
▼ Made from silk from either Byzantium or Syria, and crafted in the Tarim Basin or Tibet, this waistcoat dates from between the 7th and 9th centuries. The motif of geese on pedestals was woven using samite, a silk compound twill.

© Qatar Museums/ Samar Kassab

GAME BOARD CARPET

The oldest complete silk pile carpet from the Islamic world, the Ashtapada carpet comes from central India between 1400 and 1450. The carpet gets its name from the Indian game board which is featured in the design.

© Qatar Museums/ Marc Pelletreau



THE DOHA HIND

One of the most treasured and significant pieces in the collection is the Doha Hind, which dates from between 940 – 1010. Commissioned by a member of the Spanish Umayyad elite, the fountainhead was made from gunmetal and exemplifies Islamic sculpture in the Mediterranean.

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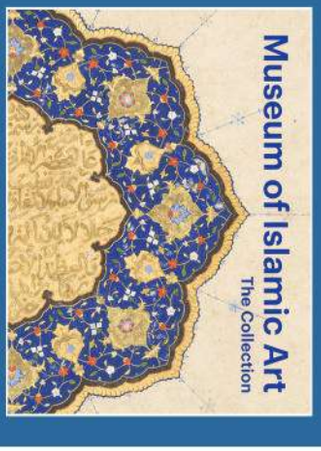


Museum of Islamic Art: The Collection and ***Museum of Islamic Art: The Guide*** (Thames & Hudson, 2022) are available to buy now.

REVIEWS

The books, TV shows and films causing a stir in the history world this month

© Alamy

BOSTON STRANGLER

The story of a journalist's hunt for a serial killer, let down by a lack of tension and style

Certificate: 16+ **Director:** Matt Ruskin **Cast:** Keira Knightley, Carrie Coon, Alessandro Nivola **Released:** Out now on Disney+

Between 1962 and 1964 the city of Boston, Massachusetts was rocked by a series of vicious murders. Written and directed by Matt Ruskin, this is not the first cinematic take on the city's most famous serial killer. However, unlike earlier versions Ruskin chooses not to focus on the efforts of the Boston constabulary to catch the strangler, but instead on Loretta McLaughlin and Jean Cole. A pair of trail-blazing reporters for the *Record American* who were responsible for dubbing the killer 'The Boston Strangler'.

Loretta McLaughlin is portrayed by Keira Knightly who delivers a fine, if somewhat uninspired performance. Set up as a journalist confined by the gender norms of the day and aspiring to more than the lifestyle pages, hers is an empowering story. Yet Ruskin seems unable to draw tension from this or any of the film's themes or conflicts. Carrie Coon is superb as the fiery Jean Cole and it appears the two reporters might be heading for a collision. But moments later the issue is apparently resolved, the tension diffused and they are suddenly the best of friends.

Ruskin clearly has a message he wants to impart, but struggles to convey it with any sense of depth. Knightly's McLaughlin spurts a lot of dialogue about how the city's establishment is letting down its women, but it somehow feels hollow, as if the film is making a point but not the character. Another sequence, where Knightly lines up images of the victims and has a drink in their honour, feels uncomfortably staged. When Knightly has a difficult conversation with the mother of one of the victims, close-ups are filmed over each actor's shoulder, obscuring portions of the screen with their bodies. This restricts the audience's view of the performances and neuters any emotion.

Visually, David Fincher's *Zodiac* (2007) appears to be Ruskin's key inspiration, *Boston Strangler* mimicking that film's muted colour palette and aesthetic. Yet here this just appears drab and uninspired, adding to the general tediousness. Occasionally Ruskin attempts to inject some style to proceedings, lighting one murder sequence with violent flashes of thunder, sparking memories of old horror films. But it's an odd show of extravagance and can't help feeling a little camp, particularly when compared to Ruskin's earlier restraint – literally having murders take place behind closed doors.

The 1968 film starring Tony Curtis, while not perfect by any means, was permeated by an uncompromising grimy atmosphere and bleak tone. In particular that film's climax, taking place in a stark-white interrogation room, is noticeably stylistic and tense. Ruskin's choice to include a scene portraying the filming of this sequence only serves to highlight the lacklustre visuals on display here.

Boston Strangler is not completely without merit. The performances are solid, as are its depictions of the journalistic process, but there is so little style or tension that, ultimately, it is a disappointing effort. ***CM***

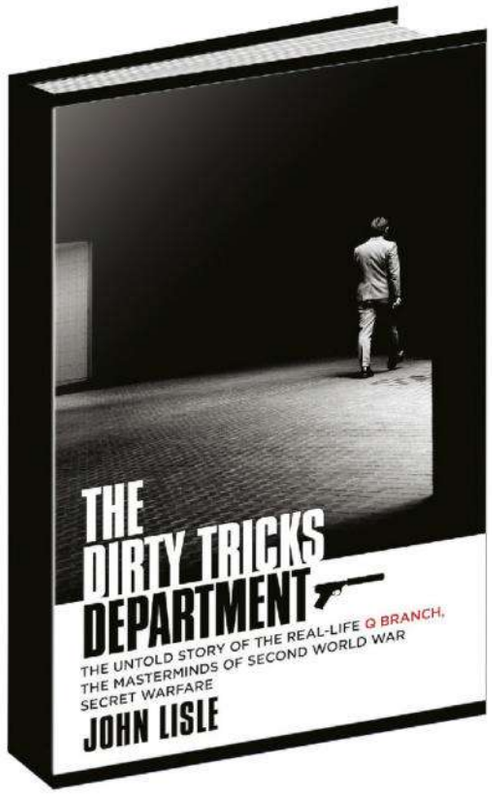
★★☆☆☆

Reviews by
Callum McKelvie, Jonathan Gordon, Emily Staniforth

THE DIRTY TRICKS DEPARTMENT

The true story of the covert WWII espionage unit

Author: John Lisle **Publisher:** The History Press
Price: £22.99 **Released:** Out now


THE DIRTY TRICKS DEPARTMENT
THE UNTOLD STORY OF THE REAL-LIFE Q BRANCH, THE MASTERMINDS OF SECOND WORLD WAR SECRET WARFARE
JOHN LISLE

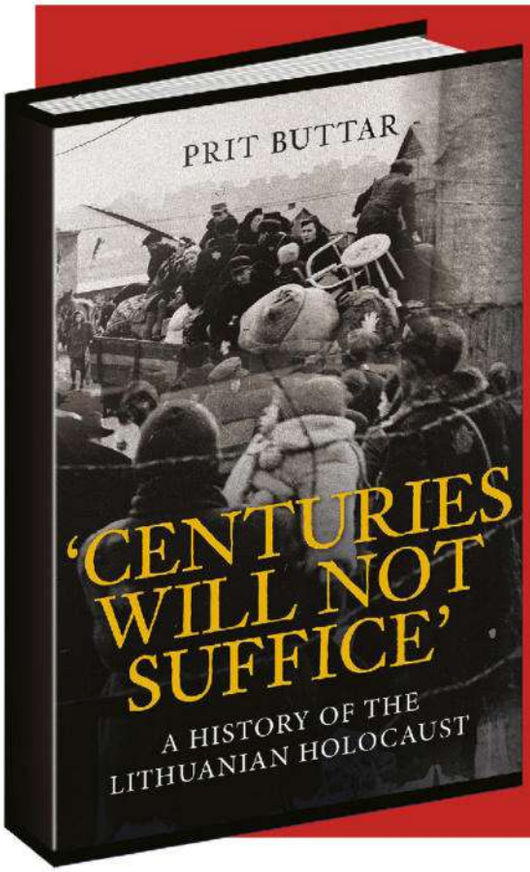
During World War II, chemist Stanley Lovell was approached by "Wild Bill" Donovan of the Office of Strategic Services. The OSS was something of a precursor to the CIA, and Donovan needed someone who could invent all kinds of dastardly inventions for espionage work, from silent pistols to suicide pills. In his own words, Donvan needed a "Professor Moriarty".

John Lisle's new book, *The Dirty Tricks Department*, tells the story of Lovell's group and their role in World War II espionage. Lisle has picked a fascinating subject, full of country clubs turned into secret training facilities and even bat and cat bombs. Lisle's prose is engaging and witty, reflecting some of the outlandishness of the narrative he has chosen to tell. Lovell, Donovan and the other figures associated with the OSS certainly seemed to be colourful characters and Lisle doesn't hold back in portraying them as such. His writing is vibrant and punchy, keeping his readers hooked.

However, Lisle is not afraid to tackle the serious and sometimes disturbing side of his subject matter. For example, the final section of the book shows Lovell's department's connection to the infamous MKULTRA 'mind-control' programme. The history of this programme is deeply concerning and Lisle treats it as such, but doesn't lose any of his engrossing style in the process.

The Dirty Tricks Department is an engaging piece of espionage history, sure to grab the attention of any reader. Highly recommended. ***CM***

★★★★☆



CENTURIES WILL NOT SUFFICE

Bringing full context to the Lithuanian Holocaust

Author: Prit Buttar **Publisher:** Amberley Publishing
Price: £25 **Released:** Out now

As an author, Prit Buttar has a commendable history of trudging through the deepest and darkest mud of the Eastern Front of World War II to bring its stories to new audiences. These often challenging and desperate tales have too often been sidelined in favour of well-trodden tales from the Western Front or to bigger picture overviews of the powerful figures. As Buttar outlines in his intro, that bigger picture vantage also tends to sum up the human cost in numbers so large that they become difficult to fully absorb, and so here he tries to focus in on one area; the Holocaust in Lithuania.

But while that target may be contained, there is no lack of context here. Buttar takes us back to the origins of the Nazi's Einsatzgruppen (meaning task force, but essentially death squads), to the politics at play in the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact. We even head back into Medieval history to learn more about the struggles for independence in Lithuania and the role the Teutonic Knights played. And, of course, we delve into the backstories of the people who led the execution of Jews in the region and the backstories of their victims. We also learn about some of the heroic people who stood up to these crimes, saving as many as they could, including Japanese and Dutch diplomats or even a German Army officer who couldn't abide what was happening behind the front line. Engaging, potent and informative, this is another excellent work from Buttar. ***JG***

★★★★★

King Charles III

Replacing his iconic mother as Britain's monarch will be no mean feat for King Charles III, but it is a role that he has been preparing for since childhood. Find out how a life filled with hardships and duty have readied him to ascend the throne, from his difficult school years to the death of Diana, raising two young princes and rekindling his relationship with Camilla.

Buy *King Charles III* in shops or online at **magazinesdirect.com Price:** £13.99

HISTORY OF WAR **RECOMMENDS...**

Reporting The Second World War

Author Tim Luckhurst **Price** £24.99 **Publisher** Bloomsbury

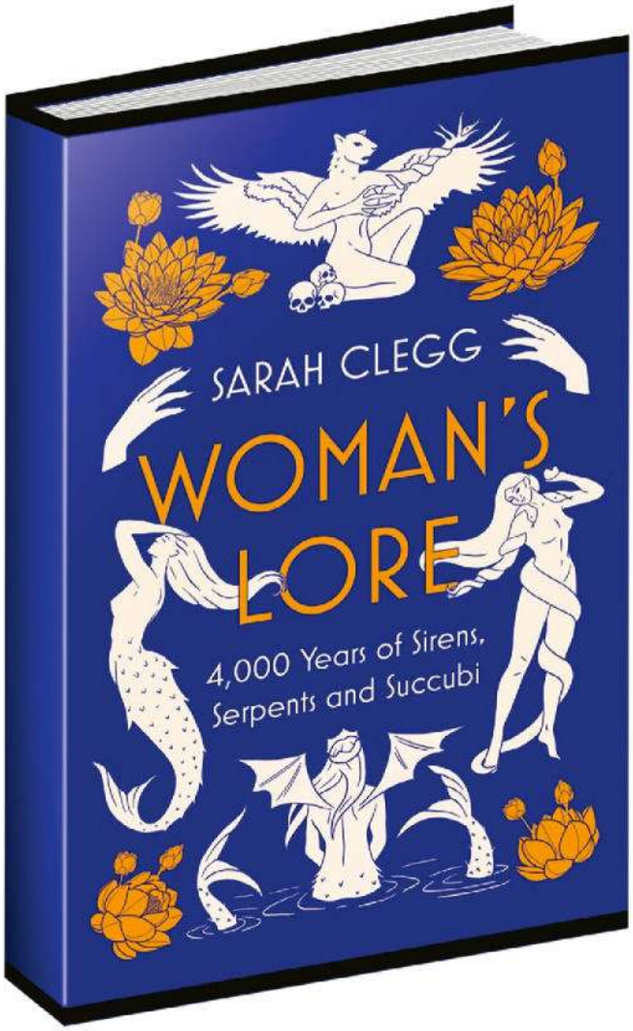
Tim Luckhurst brings together his skills as an award-winning journalist to offer case studies of newspaper coverage during the Second World War, drawing on his experiences covering wars and conflict in hotspots like Romania, Iraq, Kuwait, Kosovo, Northern Ireland and Serbia. The book examines what news can do for democracy, from the duty to inform readers about what they need to know to investigating topics that the government prefers not to discuss, and mobilising readers to take action or protest.

WOMAN'S LORE:

4,000 YEARS OF SIRENS, SERPENTS AND SUCCUBI

An intriguing exploration of monstrous women in myth and legend

Author: Sarah Clegg **Publisher:** Head of Zeus **Price:** £27.99 **Released:** Out now



"Brilliantly and seamlessly informs the reader of the human context of the tale"

Demonic women have existed in myth and legend for millennia. In her new book *Woman's Lore: 4,000 Years of Sirens, Serpents and Succubi*, historian and author Sarah Clegg explores the idea of the monstrous woman in mythology and analyses why tales of them have persisted from ancient history to the present day. Clegg also uncovers the societal attitudes and beliefs that spawned these mythical beings, noting that "demons are never just demons, and stories are never just stories." On a journey through time and place, Clegg investigates how the legends of demonic women were informed by the world in which the stories were told. Following the myths of these frightening females through their various incarnations leaves the reader with a broad understanding of the role these myths played, and continue to play, in the real lives of women. And, as Clegg herself sums up: "While this book is the story of a demonic tradition... it is also the story of women and womanhood: of the dangers of childbirth; of attitudes to female sexuality; of women fighting for their rights."

Clegg writes beautifully and displays her vast knowledge and passion for the subject of female mythical demons and monsters with such ease, making this book a thoroughly enjoyable read. Her in-depth and fascinating discussion of the powerful Mesopotamian demoness Lamashtu highlights the great extent to which Clegg has researched this topic. She recounts the various horrifying tales of the eagle-winged, lion-headed creature who preys on pregnant women and infant children and Clegg's engaging, and frankly terrifying, synopses of these stories allows the reader to understand the fear Lamashtu's name invoked to those who believed in her power. However, Clegg not only charts the myths of Lamashtu, she also brilliantly and seamlessly informs the reader of the human context of the tales by drawing attention to the trials of women at the time for whom becoming a mother was a frightening, and all too often tragic, experience. For pregnant women and new mothers, believing in and using exorcisms and incantations to ward off a demon like Lamashtu gave powerless women agency in a time where pregnancy and childbirth were incredibly dangerous, infant mortality rates were extremely high and mothers had very little control.

Clegg goes on to explore the stories of several other mythical women and creatures from Adam's first wife Lilith to mermaids and sirens, discussing how each myth has developed over time and place, and how each representation of these demonic women reflected society's views of women at the time they were told. Discussing motherhood, sexuality and the rights of women, Clegg makes use of a huge range of sources from ancient poetry to Victorian literature. Bringing the tales all the way to the present day allows Clegg to show how the myths that once demonised women are now beginning to be reclaimed. ***ES***

★★★★★

HISTORY VS HOLLYWOOD

Fact versus fiction on the silver screen

COOL RUNNINGS

Director: Jon Turteltaub **Starring:** Leon, Doug E Doug, John Candy **Country:** USA **Year:** 1993

Is the extraordinary story of the first Jamaican bobsleigh team as true as this film would have us believe?

VERDICT: Though many elements are exaggerated and embellished for dramatic and comedic effect, the movie does justice to the determination of the first Jamaican bobsledders.

01 *Cool Runnings* tells the story of the first Jamaican bobsleigh team to compete at the Winter Olympics, in Calgary, Canada, in 1988. It shows the team only competing in the four-man event, but two members also took part in the two-man event.

02 In the film, Jamaican runner Derice Bannock (Leon) starts the team to find a way to get to the Olympics. Two US men living in Jamaica actually came up with the idea when they saw similarities between bobsledding and the Jamaican pushcart derby.

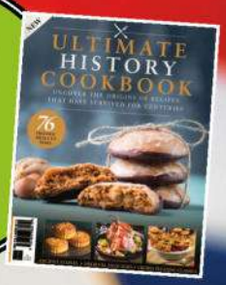
03 The team members in *Cool Runnings* are runners who failed to qualify for the Olympics and a pushcart driver. In real life, three of the team were recruited from the Jamaican Army, though one had failed to qualify as a runner for the 1984 Olympics.

04 When the team arrives in Calgary, signs show the temperature to be -25°C. However, at the 1988 games there were many concerns about the mild weather, with warm winds meaning the temperature fluctuated and rose to around 17°C.

05 At the climax of the film, the Jamaican team crash in the third run of the bobsleigh event. The athletes climb out and heroically carry the sleigh across the finish line. In reality, the sleigh was pushed to the finish line by Olympic staff.

Allimages: © Alamy

Check out THE ULTIMATE HISTORY COOKBOOK available now



Did you know?

The dish was likely inspired by Jubilee Chicken, from George V's Silver Jubilee in 1935

Main image: © Alamy
Inset image: © Getty Images

CORONATION CHICKEN

AN AMALGAM OF BRITISH IMPERIAL CUISINE, UK, 1953 – PRESENT

Ingredients

- 600g chicken breasts, cooked and shredded/cut into chunks
- Olive oil for cooking
- 1 small onion, diced
- 1 tbsp of curry paste/ 2 tsp of curry powder
- 1 tbsp tomato puree
- 60ml red wine
- 60ml water
- Bay leaf
- 1 tbsp lemon juice
- 1 tbsp dried apricots, finely chopped
- 1 tbsp apricot jam
- 3 tbsp toasted almond flakes
- 200g mayonnaise
- 125g creme fraiche (or unsweetened whipped cream)
- Salt and pepper to taste

The origins of this recipe date back to the coronation of Queen Elizabeth II in 1953 when the culinary school, Le Cordon Bleu London, was commissioned to cater a celebratory luncheon. The prestigious event, with around 350 dignitaries from all over the world, was a huge honour for the school – and it didn't let anyone down.

The signature dish of the day was Poulet Reine Elizabeth, which translates simply as 'Chicken Queen Elizabeth', but today we call it Coronation Chicken. The idea for a creamy curry chicken dish, possibly inspired by Jubilee Chicken served to King George V in 1935, was proposed by florist and author Constance Spry. It was then developed by Rosemary Hume, the founder of Le Cordon Bleu London, and her students. The dish as it existed then was a little more involved and complex than the simpler modern incarnation of the chicken salad. Here we offer a recipe that's closer to the original version but which is still fairly easy to do.

METHOD

01 If you're starting with raw chicken, cook using your preferred method (original recipes called for it to be poached with carrots, white wine and herbs for about 40 minutes).

02 Allow the chicken to cool and then shred or cut into bite-size pieces ready to be mixed with the sauce.

03 Heat oil in a large frying pan on medium heat. Add the onion, bay leaf, curry paste/powder and cook gently for two minutes.

04 Add the tomato puree, red wine and water and bring to a simmer. Then add the lemon juice and season with salt and pepper to taste.

05 Simmer for about five minutes to reduce the sauce mixture a little and have the alcohol cook out. Once that's done, strain the sauce through a fine sieve and allow to cool in a bowl.

06 In a large mixing bowl, add the cooled sauce to the mayonnaise, apricots, creme fraiche and apricot jam, mixing them. Adding the mayonnaise gradually can help bring it together quicker.

07 Add the chopped/shredded chicken and mix gently to combine together. Add the toasted almond flakes.

08 Serve with salad, on a jacket potato or in a sandwich with lettuce.

NEXT MONTH THE MAKING OF HENRY VIII ON SALE 18 MAY

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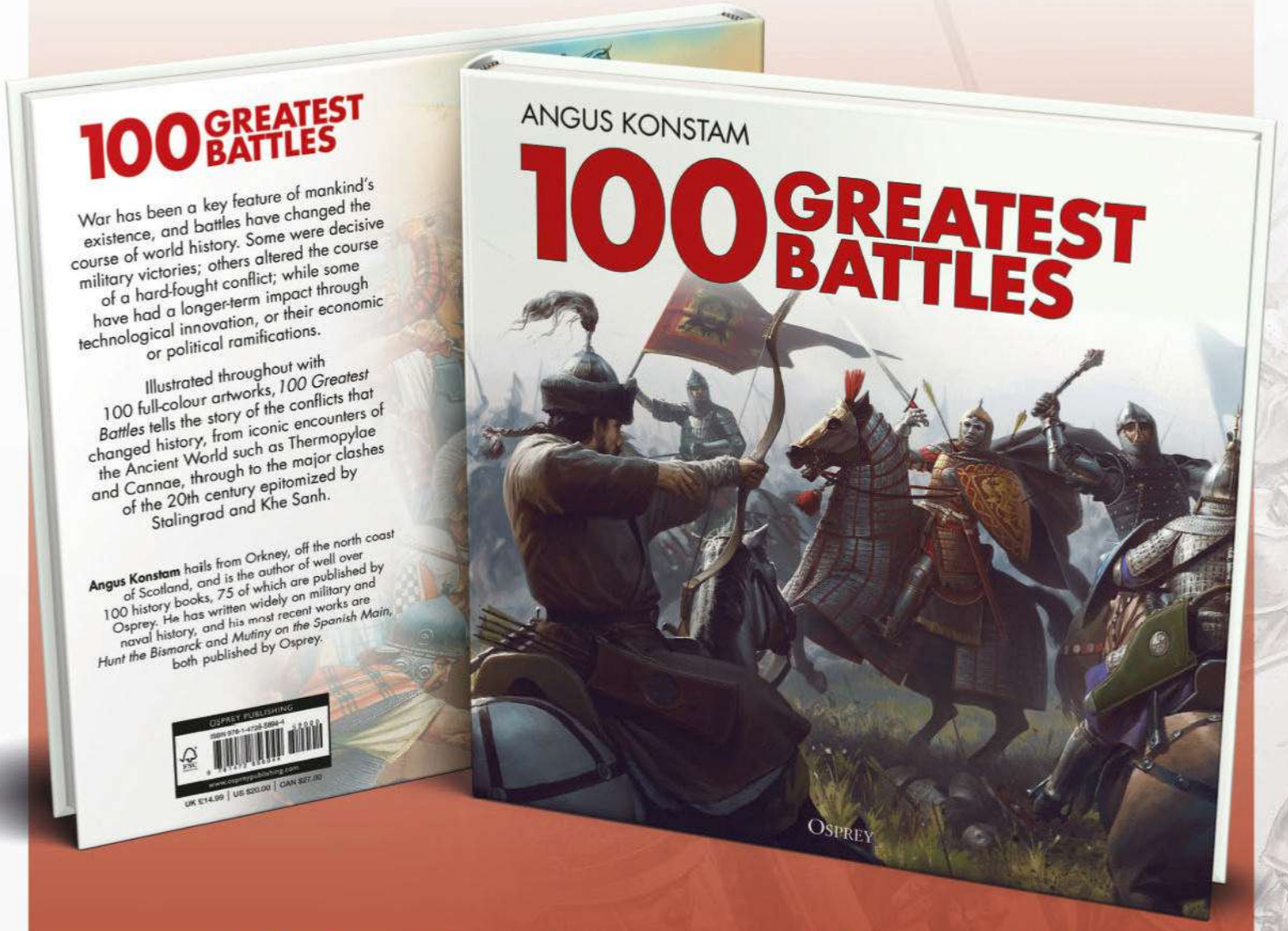
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Angus Konstam hails from Orkney, off the north coast of Scotland, and is the author of well over 100 history books, 75 of which are published by Osprey. He has written widely on military and naval history, and his most recent works are *Hunt the Bismarck* and *Mutiny on the Spanish Main*, both published by Osprey.
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